Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party June 1975 30 pence

From a Mayakovsky poster

Editorial Comments

Joan Bellamy
Imperialism and Some Problems of the Third World

Jon Bloomfield
A Caricature of Marxism

Communist Party of Chile
Manifesto: To the Party and People of Chile

Discussion:

John Chambers
The Communist Party and Developments in British Culture

Norman Lucas
A Cry for Clarity

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Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party

Volume 19, Number 6

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The front cover was designed by Pa tCook. The picture is from a Mayakovsky poster (see Editorial Comment on "Mayakovsky's Windows").

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Editorial Comments

THROUGHOUT the month of May celebrations have continued all over the world of the 30th Anniversary of the defeat of German fascism and of the first stage of victory of the war in which 60 countries were involved and 55 million died.

They were days of joy and tears in those months of May and June 30 years ago.

In Europe and Asia we had before our eyes fascism's vile legacy—destruction, deportation, torture, genocide, the stripping of every vestige of human dignity.

Everywhere we had seen, in every form, resistance forces grow, led by the working people. The people were the patriots. Internationalism and patriotism went hand in hand. Whilst old flagwaggers, Colonel Blimps of yester-year, staunchly loyal to capitalism, were the Quislings, the collaborators with fascism.

Within this world of resisters in every form, the Soviet Union with the Red Army, emerged as the single greatest force, that bore the brunt of the anti-fascist struggle. Nor was this just military skill or personal heroism, however great they were, but the strength—economic, political, social, moral—of a new *socialist* social order.

We saw the emergence of a world alliance of anti-fascist forces and, by May-June 1945, it was clear that there was in the world a new relation, a new balance of world political forces.

A world socialist system was coming into existence; the national liberation forces were moving and challenging the old colonial rule; inside the great capitalist countries stronger, socialist, communist, democratic and trade union organisations were developing.

We were on the brink of a new stage of human history.

PROBLEMS AHEAD

Amidst the grief and the losses it was a moment of hope and joy.

Sometimes in that excitement of Victory there was a danger of glossing over the complexity of the tasks ahead.

Fascism had been defeated, but the imperialism that gave rise to it was not by any means dead. The forces of reaction regrouped round US imperialism, their strongest centre, and the war was hardly ended than they were preparing war anew.

Reformism was still a strong influence within the working class of many countries, and, by no means least, in Britain.

Difficult problems faced the Soviet Union and the newly emerging People's Democratic and Socialist countries, not only of rehabilitation and reconstruction, but complex tasks of overcoming errors alien to socialism, and advancing people's and socialist democracy.

National liberation was a long and complex process. The struggle for national independence, for independent democratic countries moving in the direction of socialism, posed all sorts of new problems in all sorts of new and specific forms.

There were complex problems, too, in the struggles in the great capitalist countries—strengthening Communist Parties, socialist-communist unity, united trade union movements, broad anti-monopoly alliances.

An overriding task was resistance to US atomic blackmail, securing world peace, preventing nuclear war, fighting for peaceful coexistence not as the *status quo*, but as the background on which each country could achieve its own particular form of social advance.

These past 30 years saw great victories—the Chinese Revolution in 1949; the Cuban Revolution ten years later; the end of 48 years of the rule of Portuguese fascism; the defeat of the Colonels in Greece; the new independent regimes in Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique. Franco fascism trembles. But there have been severe, if temporary, defeats in Indonesia and Chile.

VIETNAM VICTORY

The imperialist powers can plot, bribe, bomb, and at times invade. But they no longer make the running of history. In the words of our Chilean comrades (see p. 181) the Chilean fascist coup was "out of keeping with the present course of history."

Imperialism can no longer install governments of its choice all over the world, or, where it has done so, can no longer easily maintain them.

What could be more fitting than that this 30th Anniversary of Hitler's defeat should be

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celebrated by the superb victory of the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam along with the Cambodian victory!

Those years since May 1945 have been 30 years of continuous struggle of the peoples of Indochina. British, French and American imperialism have, each in its turn, done its damnedest to keep the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples from deciding their own futures.

But in this changing world, with its changing balance of forces, all their might—money, arms and napalm, defoliants, bombs—was unavailing.

The courage of the Vietnamese peoples and the political wisdom of the revolutionary forces united behind the Ho Chi Minh banners was the first element of victory.

The solidarity of the socialist countries was the second.

The third and the fourth were the support of the national liberation forces throughout the world and of the people in the capitalist countries.

In particular resistance grew amongst the people of the United States, the main aggressor, including from amongst the soldiers who had been sent to Vietnam. The political crisis deepened inside the USA as the bankruptcy of its policy became ever more apparent.

The Vietnamese victory symbolises our struggle 30 years after 1945. Imperialism does not rest, is not dead, attacks again and again, in despair is often most deadly, but *can* be defeated, in this world which it no longer runs, when all the forces of resistance truly unite.

THE LIE AND THE EYE

These last months have not been cheerful times for imperialism. It is not easy for reaction to admit defeat, still less that this defeat was well deserved.

The British media have been very revealing.

Day after day throughout April we were shown sad pictures of the desperate columns of refugees pouring south from Danang. They were trying, we were told, to "escape the impending Vietcong massacres". But the first Western observers *to see for themselves* reported normal life in liberated Danang and Swedish Television showed us shots of it.

The looters, panickers, and main sources of terror, were the crumbling Thieu forces.

Each day we were told to expect a bloodbath. In Danang, in each successive coastal town, in Saigon. As each fell, no bloodbath! Western eyewitnesses told us, brought us pictures, of order, restoration of normal life.

The camera showed us US evacuation from Saigon, totally vulnerable to rocket and artillery attack, left to proceed in peace. Western cameras showed us Thieu soldiers and officers looting in the last days before Saigon fell. Western observers commented that, strangely enough (to them) within hours of Saigon's liberation, all looting ceased.

The media had lauded the morale of Thieu's leaders. Cameras showed us 3-star Generals fleeing with suitcases full of gold and "fight to the last man" diehards scuttling off in their private helicopters.

The media had not been generous in their use of the fully available text of the *10-point Code of the Revolutionary People's Government for Cadres and Personnel in newly Liberated Areas in South Vietnam* :—

> "Respect and protect the lives and property, do not encroach upon even a needle and thread of the people, do not use the people's property without permission. Anyone who damages the people's property will be fined". (Point 4).

On *Midweek* (29/4/75) an elderly British "expert", in sorrow and in anger, on the eve of Saigon's fall, still threatened "bloodbath". "We have been killing Vietnamese long enough" replied a young American expert, "on the pretext of avoiding such a bloodbath. Now at last, after 30 years, the Vietnamese people will be able to decide their own future". US veterans of the Vietnam war, interviewed by British TV, were full of regrets for the role that had been forced on them, but without regrets for the outcome. "They have had it coming for 30 years", said one. "One good thing", said another, "is that *our* generation of parents will not, unquestioning, send our children to war".

Rarely have media assertions been so swiftly proved to be false. Television can sometimes be awkward even for those who essentially have it under their control. Many journalists and commentators *want* to tell the truth. As commentators with their cameras moved into liberated territory *the eye refuted the lie.*

THE £30,000 APPEAL

The immense victories of World War II, which now—30 years after—we are cele-

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brating, did not come about by themselves. Inside the Soviet Union and in China, within Nazi Germany, in the Yugoslav Partisan Resistance, in occupied France, in mobilised Britain, in fascist Italy, militarist Japan, in the United States—in a hundred different forms, and at different levels of struggle, Communist Parties played a key role in developing the mass struggle that won victory over fascism.

The victory was not spontaneous. It had to be organised. Consciousness had to be raised.

Working in the realm of Marxist theory it is all too easy to discuss all things theoretically, but to *assume* understanding of the theory of the role of the Communist Party.

At high points of the struggle over the past decades people have in great campaigns shown their solidarity with the Spanish Republic, the victims of German Fascism, their support for the people of Vietnam. They have campaigned for peaceful co-existence, against German Rearmament or entry into the Common Market. But often they have tended to *assume* the existence of that organisation which has played the single most important role in the development of these great struggles, and, therefore, to neglect to take the steps that are necessary to make it strong.

That is why we welcome so strongly the timely appeal made by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party for a £30,000 fund to be raised in the May-June period.

Theory and practice cannot be separated. You cannot claim to understand the strategy of peaceful coexistence unless in some form appropriate to your own capacities you are striving to achieve it.

And you cannot claim to understand the role of a revolutionary party unless in some form appropriate to your capacity you are helping to give it, and helping others to understand the need to give it, the sinews of struggle—the essential financial base.

Capitalism converts all things—life and art and love—to cold cash. One thing the Party can promise is that it will convert the collected cash into the fight for the defence of life and all that makes it sweet.

A MARXIST DIALOGUE WITH ROMAN CATHOLICS

In 1963 Pope John published his Encyclical Letter Peace on Earth (*Pacem in Terris*). The great Roman Catholic gathering—Vatican II—was held during 1963-65. The Vatican Secretariat for Non-Believers was founded on April 9, 1965, with the promotion of dialogue as one of its essential functions.

In August 1968, Cardinal König, Archbishop of Vienna, President of the Secretariat, issued a document on Dialogue endeavouring to provide an official definition of its purpose, nature, limitations and forms.[1]

The first section opens:

> "By the word dialogue, used in a general sense we here understood every form of meeting and communication between individuals, groups and communities to bring about a greater grasp of truth and to achieve better human relations in a spirit of sincere respect for persons, and mutual trust.
>
> Dialogue is particularly important and complex when it is established between people of different and even sometimes opposed positions, who are attempting to overcome their mutual prejudices and broaden, as far as possible, their areas of mutual agreement, whether this takes place on the planes of simple human relations or that of a quest for the truth or collaboration to attain ends of a practical nature."

The Chairman of the Secretariat for England and Wales is Bishop Mervyn Alexander (Bishop of Clifton and also a member of the Vatican Secretariat); its Secretary is Father J. J. Gaine (of Upholland College, Skelmersdale in Lancashire) and its Consultor Dr. David McLellan (Reader in Politics at the University of Kent), whose special subject of study in recent years has been the life of Marx and the origins of Marxism.

On an informal 9-a-side basis the first dialogue was held in March of this year between members of the Secretariat in England and Wales and a delegation organised by *Marxism Today*. The subject was "The Future of Society". Discussion, plenary and in groups, followed short opening papers from each side.

The Roman Catholic paper explained that, in the view of its author, one could not speak of a specifically Roman Catholic view of the economic, political and social nature of future society:

> "We are not bound to any political, economic and social system. We do demand of any society that it safeguard the right to worship freely . . . and that it seek to create conditions which enable men to live and grow in accord with their human dignity."

It was not, therefore, surprising that a considerable part of the discussion consisted of questions put to Marxists on *their* view of the development of society.

[1] *Dialogue with Non-Believers*, available in pamphlet form from the Catholic Truth Society.

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There was much discussion on the stages of development of socialism, on the difference between Socialism and Communism; on how far existing socialist countries should be seen as "models" for socialist development in other countries, on the reasons for various errors and excesses, on the position of individuals in socialist society and on the extent to which human nature could be changed.

In replying to these questions Marxists stressed the importance of Roman Catholics recognising the necessity of radical social change and taking part in the process rather than standing aside and making moral judgments "from outside". Questions were also raised on the nature of, role of and contradictions within Christian Democratic Parties.

There have been many discussions between Roman Catholics and Marxists in Britain in the course of Dialogue in the last ten years. It is good that this first meeting has been held with the Secretariat for Non-Believers. The frank exchange of opinions was appreciated on both sides and we look forward to further such discussions.

CHRISTIANS AND THE CRISIS

The crisis of capitalism has a profound effect on Roman Catholicism as indeed on all Christian denominations and on all religious institutions. Within the Roman Catholic Church there has, inevitably, been a polarisation in which some sections try to link the church ever more firmly with existing reactionary governments and establishments, whilst other, increasing, sections come to accept social responsibilities and to link up with the mass of people struggling for peace, social justice and against imperialism. Within this progressive movement there is a growing group who take up definitely revolutionary positions. The great social struggles of our period are reflected inside Christianity, in action and also in *religious* ideological struggle, in the interpretation of the sense, meaning and call of the Christian faith.

The recent Portuguese elections saw an important section of the Roman Catholic hierarchy campaigning actively and specifically against the Communist Party. Whilst a few months earlier a majority of Spanish Bishops were calling for recognition of the right of free speech, assembly, association and the right to strike.

The *Catholic Herald* (25/11/74) quotes the Spanish Catholic Weekly *Vida Nueva* to the effect that 108 Spanish priests had been fined the equivalent of £90,000 for preaching on social justice—of these 40 had gone to jail rather than pay the fines.

One of the questions that came up for discussion in our recent dialogue with the Secretariat for Non-Believers was how far it was possible for a practising Catholic to become a member of the Communist Party. The British Communist Party explained its position in its statement on *Questions of Ideology and Culture* adopted by the Executive Committee in March 1967:—

> "We wish to make it clear that the Communist Party welcomes people of any religious faith including those who are Ministers, not only working side by side with Marxists in common causes, but as members of the Communist Party, provided they accept the political programme of our party. We have never made, nor will we, acceptance of religious belief a bar to membership of our party."

Roland Leroy, of the Executive Committee of the French Communist Party, speaking at a 3,000-strong rally at Rennes (April 12 this year) on the subject of Christian-Communist co-operation against the crisis, answering an interrogator as to whether Christians in the Party would be reduced to "second class status", replied that they would have identical rights and responsibilities with all other members. (*Humanité*, 25/4/75).

DISCUSSION IN THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY

Questions of the development of and within Christianity, the character of Christian-Marxist dialogue, the possibilities of co-operation and of membership of the Communist Party, were discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain in February. The results of the discussion were summed up in the following Declaration published in the weekly *Mundo Obrero*[2]:—

> "The Communist Party of Spain has been concerning itself with this problem for several years. Back in 1967, we were stating the coincidence which was coming about, in the realm of the class struggle and socialist ideas, between Communists and important Christian groups, coincidences which facilitated practical collaboration.
>
> "This statement stemmed from an evolution in the church which had been developing since the Vatican Council II and which, in Spain today, is characterised in the first place by the breakdown of national-Catholicism. From this, the Conciliar hierarchy of the

[2] *Militancia de Cristianos en el Partido*, February 1975.

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Spanish Church has followed a line of the defence of human rights which, in recent months, has been accentuated in various declarations of denunciation of the repression and of the lack of political liberties (right of association, meeting and expression) having even gone so far as the demand for the right to strike, as made in the Document of the Episcopal Commission of the Social Apostolate published last September.

"This process has not been merely an evolution in the Church hierarchy, but is a consequence of the dynamism of struggle and prophetic denunciation which broad sectors of rank and file Catholicism have been developing in their struggle against Francoism. In its turn, this process is mingled in the upsurge of the workers' and peoples' movement.

"Despite this evolution, important Integrist remnants continue to exist, which retain a certain strength both in the bosom of the Church and in the State apparatus. On the other hand, evaluating the considerable positive nature of the advance in the Hierarchy to which we have referred, we must state that its predominant positions do not reflect the real dynamism which today characterises broad rank and file sectors of the Church.

"In this context, we should stress once again the importance of progressive Christian sectors which have been actively participating in the struggle. Among them, many today are taking up militant positions in favour of political liberties, for democracy. Others have gone further and today express positions which are clearly directed towards the building of a socialist society, according with the evangelical roots of Christianity which, in its historical origins, expresses itself in the struggle for justice.

"Nevertheless, this evolution in the Church and the presence of Christians in the class struggle has not always been sufficiently valued and understood by the general run of the Party. The same theses to which we referred above have not been sufficiently understood either by many Christians or by many Communists.

"We have lived through a period in which the relations with the Christians have been centred on the ideological Christian-Marxist dialogue, with little incidence in practical policy, passing later into active collaboration between Communists and Christians, each remaining in their own camp. At the same time, it has become more and more frequent that Christians have become members of the Party. That is to say, the presence of Christians as Communists with no difference in the practice of class struggle. Such Christians are struggling for the building of a socialist society, convinced that the same faith identifies their belief with their struggle for the people, in one single combat.

THE PERSPECTIVE IN SPAIN

"In view of this situation, a step forward is envisaged, in such a way that all the revolutionary potential seen in the option of broad Christian sectors in the struggle for socialism should be fully taken up and promoted by the Party. It is a serious responsibility, and demands a deep understanding on the part of all comrades, a struggle against all sectarianism and confusion.

"For this reason we consider it necessary to recall what have been, and are, the positions of the Party in view of the evolution in the Church. We consider that the Party should not intervene in the internal problems of the Church, though this does not mean that it should take up no position in face of the attitudes of the Church which have repercussions or effect on the social and political life of the country. In this sense, we value as an act of great historical importance the progressive moving away of the Church from the Franco dictatorship.

"The attitude of Communists should start from the statement that broad sectors of the Church can be won for a democratic option. This is an unfinished battle, in which resistance and difficulties are still to be met. We must promote a global dialogue at all levels interested in the proposal that the Church should be effectively pluralist, anti-capitalist, and should struggle for social justice so that strength should accrue to the forces which in their own spheres are struggling for socialism. To attain this means to overcome an important obstacle for the achievement of a dynamic and pluralist socialism.

"In this context, and in view of the historical reality described, the Communist Party of Spain accepts the presence of Christian Communists and their promotion to the diverse leading organs of the Party with no kind of discrimination, with the same rights as any other member.

"The encounter between forces which have their roots in the first egalitarian movement known to mankind, Christianity, and modern scientific socialism, is a fact of historic importance which reinforces the class struggle and opens clearer perspectives for the victory of the oppressed.

"The Executive Committee considers that the phenomenon described marks an advance in Marxist theory and practice, and calls on all Communists to build the Party with full understanding of the above mentioned problems, which will permit the diffusion of these positions throughout the Spanish Left and the whole of the working class movement."

MAYAKOWSKY'S WINDOWS

Congratulations to the Dresden Art Publishing House in the GDR for a superb production of the Soviet book by Viktor Duvakin— "Rosta-Windows: Mayakowsky as Poet and Artist".[3]

The famous "Rosta Windows" were large posters on current political, economic, social and military themes exhibited between September 1919 and February 1922. The first posters of the series were put up next to the Russian Telegraph Agency (abbreviated to ROSTA), then Headquarters of the Institute for Political Enlightenment under the People's Commissariat for Education.

The initiator of the posters was the Soviet artist Cheremnich, later joined by Mayakowsky and Ivan Malyutin.

These were hard times—intervention, hunger, empty shops, neglected half-crumbling buildings. But they were also years of heroism, of Red Army victories and

[3] Wiktor Duwakin—*Rosta Fenster: Majakowski als Dichter und bildender Kunstler*, Verlag der Kunst Dresden, GDR, 1975.

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of the beginnings, amidst the ruins, of reconstruction.

Heroic acts were not spontaneous. And amongst the most powerful mobilisers of struggle—educators, agitators, organisers—were Mayakowsky and his colleagues.

In the empty window of a confectioners (now a bookshop specialising in books of the GDR and Eastern Europe) in the Tverskaya, (now the Gorki Street), large crowds gathered round the early posters.

Each one, as a rule, was a block or sequence of four, six or nine small pictures, blending into a whole. Beneath each small picture was a caption in Mayakowsky's blunt, stringent tone, the whole blending together into a single terse tense Mayakowsky verse. The whole openly and unashamedly, but passionately, carried a lesson, a message, a call.

The first posters for the most part dealt with the class enemy at home or abroad—the intervention forces, white guard, the Denikins and Kolchaks, speculators and spies. By 1921 themes of reconstruction began to dominate—rebuilding, replanting, food, education, health. "War on Class" was one of Mayakowsky's posters in January 1921. Another in the same month, beneath a warning that the USA and Japan were preparing for war, set out four vivid images with four lines of caption:

> The Communists waged war
> So that there might be peace,
> The imperialists made peace
> To prepare more war.

The success of the Rosta Windows was immediate. At first it was single hand-made posters for a single window. Then tens, fifties, hundreds. The exhibition points spread—to stations, bus stops, "agitpunkts" (propaganda centres), shops, barracks. They spread from Moscow to Leningrad to Kharkhov and on.

In the 29 months between September 1919—February 1922, 1,600 different posters were prepared and some of the best are reproduced in Duvakin's study.

As their influence grew other artists joined the group, then photographers, poets, typists, organisers, billstickers. The trio became a collective of 100 or more.

Millions were moved to action and the history of art enriched.

SHELLEY'S SOCIALISM

It is not difficult to imagine why Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling were so profoundly moved by Shelley's poetry and by his life.

Their Lecture on *Shelley's Socialism* was first (in 1888) privately printed in an edition of 25 copies. It was reprinted (by Leslie Preger) in 1947, but has long been unavailable. So it is good to see a tastefully presented (and cheap) new edition from The Journeyman Press.[4]

They see him as a child of the French Revolution who carried forward its ideas from bourgeois towards socialist revolution, who began to understand, to hate, and revolt against *capitalist* society, who saw no contradiction between art and action:

> "He flung himself into politics and yet he never ceased singing."

Eleanor Marx warmed to Shelley's passionate critique of the so-called 'inferiority' of women. Shelley, she said, understood that it "is the outcome of the holding of economic power by man to her exclusion."

In their lecture Edward and Eleanor quote *Laon and Cythna*:

> "Can man be free if woman be a slave".

and *Queen Mab*:

> "All things are sold: the very light of heaven
> Is venal: earth's unsparing gifts of love
>
> Are bought and sold as in a public mart
> Of undisguising selfishness, that sets
> On each its price, the stamp-market of her reign.
> Even love is sold; . . . ."

Perhaps the central theme of the Lecture is that Shelley understood so much more deeply, went so very much further, than many of his fellow romantics who were indeed "children of the French Revolution", but lived to betray it. A whole section is entitled "Shelley's Perception of the Class Struggle". It is because Shelley fights for freedom concretely, naming, identifying the "enemy", and because the enemy clearly includes capitalists, that they advance Shelley's claim to the title of Socialist:—

> "More than anything else that makes us claim Shelley as a socialist is his singular understanding of the facts that today tyranny resolves itself into

[4] Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling—*Shelley's Socialism*, The Journeyman Press, 26 pages, 60p.

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tyranny of the possessing class over the producing and that to this tyranny in the ultimate analysis is traceable almost all evil and tyranny. He saw that the so-called middle class is the real tyrant, the real danger at the present day."

To support their claim they cite not only the *Philosophic View of Reform*, not only the *Masque of Anarchy*, written after Peterloo (1819), but stanzas like these from *Peter Bell*:—

"Hell is a city much like London—
A populous and a smoky city
There are all sorts of people undone;
And there is little or no fun done;
Small justice shown, and still less pity.

"There is a Chancery Court; a King;
. . . A manufacturing mob; a set
Of thieves who by themselves are sent
Similar thieves to represent;
An army; and a public debt.

"Lawyers—judges—old hobnobbers
Are there—bailiffs—Chancellors—
Bishops—great and little robbers—
Rhymesters—pamphleteers—stock-jobbers—
Men of glory in the wars."

LUKÁCS' MOSCOW WRITINGS

Readers interested in the Marxist debate on literature and in Georg Lukács in particular will be pleased to hear of the publication last year, by Editions Sociales, of his *Ecrits de Moscou* (Moscow Essays), edited and introduced by Claude Prévost.

This collection of unpublished articles on the history of the novel and the problems of realism was written originally in German when Lukács was in exile in the USSR in the 1930s and early 1940s. Lukács had by then already begun to elaborate and publish his own literary theories, based partly on Marx and Engels's own remarks on literature, in which he asserted the greater richness, depth and realism of traditional, even conservative, literary work and its forms (in Goethe, Scott, Balzac, Tolstoy, and Thomas Mann) as against the more explicitly progressive and formally less conventional tradition (of Stendhal, Hugo, Byron, Heine and Brecht).

But the essays in *Ecrits de Moscou* have an extra polemical bite as they were Lukács' response to the official adoption, at the First Writers' Congress in Moscow in 1934, of 'socialist realism' and the judgment of literature and art strictly according to its class line. Lukacs saw this as being in direct contrast both to Engels' recommendation that 'tendency' should only be implicit in a work of art, and to the spirit of Lenin's essays on Tolstoy. Lukács' essays show how strongly he reacted and, as Prévost shows in his excellent introduction, overreacted to the demand for 'socialist realism', by laying even more exclusive stress on traditional literary form and content, and further reinforcing his obvious congenital dislike of all formal experimenters and modernists by indiscriminantly associating them with the 'vulgar sociology', as he called it, of the new official line.

Perhaps it could even be said that Lukacs' repeated, some say narrow, insistence on the quality and value of the classics of bourgeois literature was in part the consequence of this overreaction. It is anyway much to be hoped that all Lukács' literary essays will soon be available in translation so that these questions can be more widely discussed in the English-speaking world.

RENZO GALEOTTI

We have printed with pleasure in this issue (on p. 173) a drawing by Renzo Galeotti expressing his feelings in regard to the subject of Joan Bellamy's article—Imperialism and the Third World.

Renzo Galeotti, born in Carrara 35 years ago, is a painter with many one-man shows in England and in Italy (London, Liverpool, Turin, Cagliari etc.). His political characterisations have appeared in print in Italian papers (including *Rinascita* of the Italian Communist Party) and have been included in a selection of political drawings in "Dictators" (publ. Studio Vista). They have also been exhibited under the title of "Men, Manipulators and Dictators" at the Woodstock Gallery in London and at the Everyman Theatre in Liverpool.

In an introduction to his work, Peter Vansittart wrote:

"Galeotti stresses the metallic; the rulers become cogs, bolts, pincers, without warmth or imagination. Demythologising power, he reiterates the sombre truth that most tyrants win authority not through genius, moral superiority or even pronounced talents, but through effective fire power.

"Much of Galeotti's work is a dark reminder of the primitive appetites and terrifying solutions reinforced by technology. A printing press, significantly, mashes the hands of Franco's victims. Colour arraigns: in a Goyaesque sequence of Jan Palach burning himself alive, the red is that which also burnt Hus: the tints of riven nature make us contemporary with Carthage: in the black comedy of power, all are victims. The dictators bawl through an infinity of silence. Imagine the silence of Magda and Josef Goebbels after deciding to poison their children!"

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Imperialism and Some Problems of the Third World

Joan Bellamy

(This article is based on a lecture delivered at the Festival of Marxism organised by the Scottish Committee of the Communist Party in January 1975.)

Scarcely a day passes without reference in the press, radio and television to the sufferings of the peoples of the countries we now know as 'The Third World'. They suffer acute poverty, actual famine in some countries, the ravages of war, the oppression of racist rule and the effects of political instability.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation estimates that some 500 million people, one eighth of the world's population of 4,000 million, suffer from calorie-protein starvation. It may even total 1000 million! Two thirds of the world's population lives on about one sixth of the world's income. 325 million Africans, for example, live on a gross national product of $53,000 million, equal to that of Austria and Belgium with a population of 17 million. There is, understandably enough, a considerable number of people in the advanced industrial countries whose consciences are deeply troubled by the disparity between the relative prosperity of the advanced industrialised countries and the deprivations of the Third World. They are disturbed both by the poverty of the peoples of the Third World and by the consequences of the apparently insatiable appetite of the industrialised economies for the raw materials of these countries which threatens to exhaust their valuable resources, leaving them with no base from which to develop.

Symptoms and Causes

This concern finds expression in the activities of organisations set up to administer relief, providing skilled personnel for individual development projects and also in providing educationalists and health workers. It is a response which assists in alleviating the immediate, pressing problems and sufferings of very large numbers of individuals and is often achieved as a result of the heroic efforts and the self-sacrifice of devoted men and women from the industrialised countries.

In addition to relief projects there are more general solutions proposed which call on the people of the industrialised economies to cut back their own living standards to make available (though how, is rarely specified), the resources thus 'saved'. Other solutions rest on overcoming rapid population growth, primitive methods of agriculture, low levels of industrialisation, lack of administrative 'know-how', backward social customs. But these 'solutions' seem to be looking at symptoms essentially, not causes, though they are no doubt sincerely meant.

Basically the problems of the Third World are caused and perpetuated by the domination of their economies by foreign monopoly capitalism, by imperialism. Fundamental changes in this relationship are needed to conquer economic and social backwardness at its source.

To say this is not to brush aside the sufferings of millions of individual men, women and children. On the contrary, we too want to end human suffering. We are part of a powerful, living, working class and Communist tradition of international solidarity with all peoples struggling for liberation from oppression and hunger. Our political approach to these problems leads us to see that the working class of the imperialist countries and those of the Third World have a common enemy, Imperialism, which oppresses them all. There can be no socialism for Britain while our ruling class continues to draw some of its power from its exploitation of the peoples of the Third World. If the working class acquiesces in the oppression and super-exploitation of the Third World, they acquiesce in the domination of their own lives.

The Past of the Third World

The term 'Third World' has been used sometimes to suggest that the states of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean have some kind of economy which is neither capitalist nor socialist. This is not a very helpful view for indicating the way ahead to economic development. The term is generally used nowadays, as shorthand for those states whose economy is in fact heavily dependent on the capitalist world market and whose major resources are generally owned and controlled by foreign monopolies. These monopolies also have considerable influence on the internal market and financial life of these states. Through this domination their political and social life is powerfully influenced both by the monopolies themselves and by the governments of the major capitalist powers acting on their behalf.

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The present problems of these countries lie in their past as well as their present relations with capitalism and imperialism. 'The Declaration of the 77', issued by the economically under-developed states at the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in April-May 1974 on "Problems of Raw Material Resources and Economic Development", declared: "The remnants of colonialism and foreign domination, racial discrimination, apartheid and neo-colonialism, in all its manifestations, remain the main obstacles to the full liberation and progress of the developing countries".

From the 15th century onward, in the trade in luxury products of the advanced civilisations of the Middle East, China and India, the search for gold and silver in the Americas, the development of the West African slave trade and plantation agriculture in the West Indies and America, European capitalist development was characterised by violence, piracy and war:

> "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the hunting of black skins, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momentum of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations with the globe for a theatre." Marx, *Capital* Vol. 1 p. 775, George Allen and Unwin. London 1938.

Competition between the advanced industrial states in the 19th century for sources of raw materials and for markets reinforced their hold on existing colonies and stimulated their drive for expansion. Monopoly capitalism, with its new feature of the export of capital, provided a further powerful incentive for the drive to divide the world between the major powers.

Lenin gives the following figures in *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, to show the rapid expansion of colonial rule in Africa and South East Asia during the last quarter of the 19th century (see Table I).

Table I
Percentage of territories belonging to the European Colonial Powers and the USA

	1876	1900	Increase/ Decrease
Africa	10.8	90.4	+79.6
Polynesia	56.8	98.9	+42.1
Asia	51.5	56.6	+ 5.1
Australia	100.0	100.0	—
America	27.5	27.2	— 0.3

Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism

Up to the middle 1960s colonial rule was the characteristic form of the domination of the Asian and African peoples by imperialism. Latin America was different. The struggle for independence from Spain and Portugal came early in the 19th century with the upsurge of new bourgeois forces. The isolation from Europe, as a result of the Napoleonic wars, provided the opportunity for successful struggle. The powerful, young United States, independent since 1776, rapidly moved in with the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 to warn off other European powers which were eyeing the Latin American continent and proceeded to extend her own influence through methods we now describe as neo-colonialist.

The imperialist powers installed in 'their' colonies administrations manned by their own nationals, backed by armies and 'legitimised' by legal systems designed primarily to ensure law and order. While armies and administrators kept the people quiet as far as was possible and excluded other foreign influences, the trading and financial firms of the 'mother country' organised the export of raw materials and the import of manufactured goods on terms very favourable to themselves. They invested capital and made loans for commercial activity, for financing the infra-structure and the costs of the bureaucracy and military occupation. A system of strategic bases was built up around the world to protect lines of communication within the Empire, hence the importance of areas such as Gibraltar, Egypt, Cyprus, Singapore.

The division of the world between the major imperialist powers enmeshed millions of people in the capitalist economy. Most of them were peasants engaged in subsistence farming. Through a variety of means, taxation, the smashing of local commodity production by the introduction of manufactured goods from abroad, by force, by laws and regulations, they were drawn into a system of cash crop production for export to the metropolitan country. Now millions of peasant producers were brought face to face with large monopoly firms to which they sold their produce, but over which they had no control. Their products went onto an unstable world market on which they had little influence. The full power of colonial rule operated in support of the monopolies, politically and economically.

Forms of Exploitation

Some of the consequences of this change from subsistence agriculture to production of a cash crop have been an unbalanced agriculture resulting in food shortages and the growth of the import of manufactured and processed foods from abroad. For example, even today food represents about 20 per cent of Ghana's imports. The sale of the crop for

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cash raises in an acute form the question of land ownership and leads to the disruption of traditional forms of communal land-holding which gave rights of land use but not personal ownership. In areas of mineral extraction, timber felling and plantation agriculture, it was necessary to create a wage-labour force, as it was for filling lower levels of jobs in trade and services. Taxation, hut and poll taxes, which imposed on peasants the need for cash, forced them out to work as wage workers.

The colonial peoples were forced to pay for their own oppression. They were taxed to pay for colonial administration and the military occupation forces; they paid for the infrastructure of roads, railways and harbours required for the export and import trade, and to repay the City of London which 'lent money to the colonies' at high rates of interest.

The peasants were exploited through unequal terms of trade, a small minority was exploited through wage labour, and all the people through taxation.

Economies Adapted to Imperialism's Needs

While these millions were brought into the orbit of the capitalist world market, capitalism did not produce a thoroughgoing revolutionary change in social relations. It impinged only on limited areas of social and economic life—those directly dependent on the economic activity of the monopolies. The consequence is that different social formations exist side by side, one with the other, from tribal forms with communal ownership of land, to feudal and capitalist social relations. Such modernisation as took place was confined to the areas of imperialist economic activity. The development of the infrastructure, for example, reflects, not the growth of an internal, national market, but the external relations of a small section of the economy with the metropolitan country. There are, of course, railways and roads, but most of them run from the areas producing cocoa, or sisal, palm oil, copper or gold, to the harbours and docks constructed to carry away raw materials for processing abroad. There is neither a transcontinental road nor railway system. Telephone and airline communications between African states are routed via Europe.

Within individual countries there are wide disparities in levels of development and modernisation. The northern parts of Ghana and Nigeria, for example, remain predominantly tribal or feudal, with primitive economies including nomadism; while in the south, which produces cash crops, often with wage labour, and is involved in foreign trade, there are active urban areas. This uneven development, which has retarded the growth of a national economy, combined with the arbitrary drawing of frontiers, irrespective of the culture, language and ethnic origins of the people, helps to explain the acute national problems which are experienced by so many newly independent states.

The most important and devastating impact of colonial rule has been acute poverty; the result of the intensive foreign exploitation of resources, labour and domination of trade. The foreign ownership of mines, plantations and other extractive industries has meant that the raw materials were sent abroad and the profits from processing and selling remained in the hands of a foreign capitalist class.

The surpluses required for investment in agriculture and industry, for social development and renewal, for social services, education and other features of modern society, were not in the control of even an indigenous capitalist class, but drained away into other societies; the impoverishment of the people through trade and super-exploitation could not provide the basis for an expanding home market with dynamic demands on local enterprise, except in small and limited areas of economic activity. This has resulted in the development of modern classes, workers and capitalists, on a small scale only, with the mass of the people working in the rural areas, some at the level even of pre-capitalist social relations and working at low levels of productive techniques.

The end of the Second World War marked the decisive weakening of imperialism. The defeat of fascism, the most vicious and terroristic political expression of monopoly capitalism, the growth of the working class, of Communist Parties, the greater strength of the Soviet Union and new People's Democracies, along with the powerful struggles of the colonial peoples, created a favourable situation for inflicting a heavy blow on imperialism. Mass independence movements united the widest sections of the population in a broad anti-colonialist alliance. The interests of the vast majority, whether bourgeoisie, petty bourgeois or working class, required the achievement of political independence as a necessary pre-condition for solving the acute problems they faced.

By the mid 1960s colonialism as a characteristic form of imperialist domination had been virtually brought to an end.

The internal political resources available to the new states were a mass independence movement with high prestige, weakly developed modern classes and a colonial state apparatus.

Forces of Resistance

The colonial rulers had tried, though vainly, to repress not only independence movements, but trade unions and political parties too. Democratic rights were non-existent; special efforts were always made to exclude socialist, and, especially, Marxist literature. Trade Unions were formed in spite of this and played an important part in the independence

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struggle, bringing the power of industrial action to reinforce the more characteristic forms of boycotts and mass demonstrations.

Communist Parties, founded in Asia and the Middle East in the 1920s and 30s, took a leading place in the independence movements, including in armed struggle, as well as striving to develop class and socialist consciousness and perspectives. Throughout Latin America, Communist Parties fought the domination of United States neo-colonialism. In the African continent, and reflecting the particularly weak development of the working class, there are as yet only eight Communist Parties, including four in North Africa and the heroic Communist Party of South Africa. Many of our brother Parties in the Third World operate under illegal conditions, in very great difficulties. Others participate actively in opposition politics, while a few have positions in Governments.

Imperialism's Supporters

At the same time as trying to suppress working class and democratic political forces in the colonies, the imperialists worked to create a small, reliable basis of support among the colonial peoples. They backed traditional rulers, giving them privileges, salaries and prestige in return for the maintenance of law and order. They discriminated between tribes, ethnic groups, religions. They admitted small numbers to modern and higher education who would become teachers, lawyers, professional workers, and occupy some of the lower and middle positions in administration.

This was done both to perpetuate colonial rule, and with an eye to the independent future. In present conditions, the educated, so-called élite, is particularly important. As early as 1835, Macaulay, in India, had set out to create what he described as ". . . a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect". Dr. Nkrumah, writing of Africa, was to describe them in his preface to 'Consciencism':

> "Many of them had been handpicked, and, so to say, carried certificates of worthiness with them. These were considered fit to become enlightened servants of the colonial administration. The process by which this category of student became fit usually started at an early age, for not infrequently they had lost contact early in life with their traditional background. By reason of their lack of contact with their own roots, they became prone to accept some theory of universalism, provided it was expressed in vague, mellifluous terms" (Heinemann, London 1964).

Oginga Odinga specifically points to Christian missionary influence as a means of creating a reliable force:

> "In this way (i.e. through conversion to Christianity, J.B.), docile hangers-on, who deferred without murmur to the moral superiority of all things White and Christian, were enlisted to serve the White Government; and an educated leadership group emerged that was separated by a great gulf from the mass of the people. The educated group reckoned prestige by the closeness of the African to the White man and his ways. . . . Here were sown the early seeds of the estrangement of the educated leadership from the people, which has bedevilled Kenya's political life for so long". (*Not Yet Uhuru*, Heinemann, London 1967.)

These attempts were not always successful of course, and many of the most militant nationalist leaders were to come from such sections, but many do provide today, the force on which imperialism now relies to perpetuate, though in different forms, the old relationships of dependence and domination.

They work in commerce, in the administration of the subsidiaries of the monopolies which operate in their countries; they teach in the Universities, occupy administrative positions in the apparatus of the independence organisation, now often the single political party, staff the state apparatus. Skills are in short supply in countries where adult illiteracy can reach 80-85 per cent as in Africa (87.4 per cent in Algeria; 65.5 per cent in Zambia; 95.8 per cent in Libya!). The bureaucratic élite has enormous influence and its ideology and aims and methods of work are an important element in Third World politics where the state has a direct responsibility for economic and social development.

The army too, one of the few highly disciplined and coherent institutions in the new states, has emerged as a powerful force in political life. Officered usually by members of the 'élite', manned frequently by troops drawn from the most under-developed areas, it has increasingly intervened in the unstable political life of new African states. As we have seen from the Egyptian coup of the nationalist officers led by Nasser in Egypt in 1952 or the coup in Congo (Brazzaville) or Ghana in 1972, not all such coups are intended to serve reactionary internal forces, or those of imperialism, but at best they raise in an acute form, the problem of the role of the popular and democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, and at worst, reactionary military coups both reinforce imperialism's grip and subject the people and their leading political activists to brutal suppression, as the Chilean people at present experience.

Struggle for Economic Independence

Political independence was a necessary prerequisite to solving the problems of poverty, illiteracy, social deprivation, but it is no guarantee for overcoming them. The end of colonialism was a

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severe blow to imperialism, but it was not a final break with the system of domination. The control of the key areas of the economy by foreign monopolies remains.

The Governments of the Third World countries who want to attack poverty and other consequences of economic under-development and exploitation are now attempting to take control of the major natural resources of their countries and change the terms of foreign trade which constitute such an important part of their country's economic activity. It is useful at this stage to examine what is being attempted by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) who are at present leading the challenge against the monopolies.

In 1973 the 76 non-aligned states meeting in Algiers stated:

> "The Conference reaffirms the need to put an end to all forms of foreign domination with a view to creating conditions for genuine development. It proclaims the right of states to take over their natural resources and develop them in the interests of their peoples in the framework of a freely chosen system of development".

The issue of capitalist or socialist paths of development is here left open, but what was urged was sovereign rights over natural resources.

In recent times foreign investments in the Third World countries have been made mainly in mineral resources. By the mid 1960s about 40 per cent was in oil alone, with 9 per cent in other extractive branches. The last 15 years have seen increasingly heavy reliance by the industrialised capitalist countries on oil. In 1960 coal accounted for 51 per cent of world energy consumption and three-quarters of it was mined in the advanced capitalist states. By 1972 oil represented 50 per cent of world consumption of energy and two-thirds of it comes from the economically under-developed countries. The Arab countries supply 38 per cent of all oil consumed in the capitalist world, though they have only about 5 per cent of capitalist world refining capacity.

In the spirit of the Algiers Declaration referred to above, OPEC took action to increase prices. They were motivated both by economic factors relating to their own development, and by the need to try to stop the United States' and other imperialist support for Israel.

The fury and alarm expressed in the imperialist countries at the OPEC move reveals not only the imperialists' vulnerability, but their fear that the example may spread.

Gordon Tether in the Lombard column of the *Financial Times* wrote:

> "For it is no exaggeration to say that unless a start can be made in this crucial sector (of fuel prices, J.B.), *of a new and much more equitable relationship between the commodity producing countries and the industrialised world*, there can be little hope of decisively reversing the present drift towards global economic chaos (my italics—J.B.) . . the only hope of preventing the emergent commodity cartels trying to 'do an OPEC' lies in showing them that there is a better way by concluding a settlement with the oil-producers". (10th March, 1975)

Producer organisations are not new, but the powerful position of the Arab States arises both from the actual importance of their output of oil, its quantity and cheapness, and because of the power of the Arab national independence struggle. The masses of the Arab world, whether in progressive nationalist states like Iraq, or oppressed by sheikhs, are exerting powerful pressures on their Governments to support the struggle of the Palestinian people, to end Israeli aggression, as well as to launch economic development. Algeria has played a leading part in advancing militant policies within the OPEC group, in line with the policy outlined by President Boumedienne at the UN General Assembly Special Session, April-May 1974, on 'The Problems of Raw Materials and Economic Development.'

OPEC Policy

The OPEC meeting in Algiers in March this year debated prices and supply. In its 'Solemn Declaration' it stated:

> "The Sovereigns and Heads of State note that the cause of the present world economic crisis stems largely from the profound inequalities in the economic and social progress among peoples; such inequalities, which characterise the under-development of the developing countries, have been mainly generated and activated by foreign exploitation and have become more acute over the years due to the absence of adequate international co-operation for development. This situation has fostered the drainage of natural resources of the developing countries, impeding an effective transfer of capital resources and technology, and thus resulting in a basic disequilibrium in economic relations.
>
> They note that the disequilibrium which besets the present international economic situation has been aggravated by widespread inflation, a general slowdown of economic growth and instability of the world monetary system in the absence of monetary discipline and restraint."

It then went on to state its general approach to pricing:

> "The price of petroleum must be maintained by linking it to certain objective criteria, including the prices of manufactured goods, the rate of inflation,

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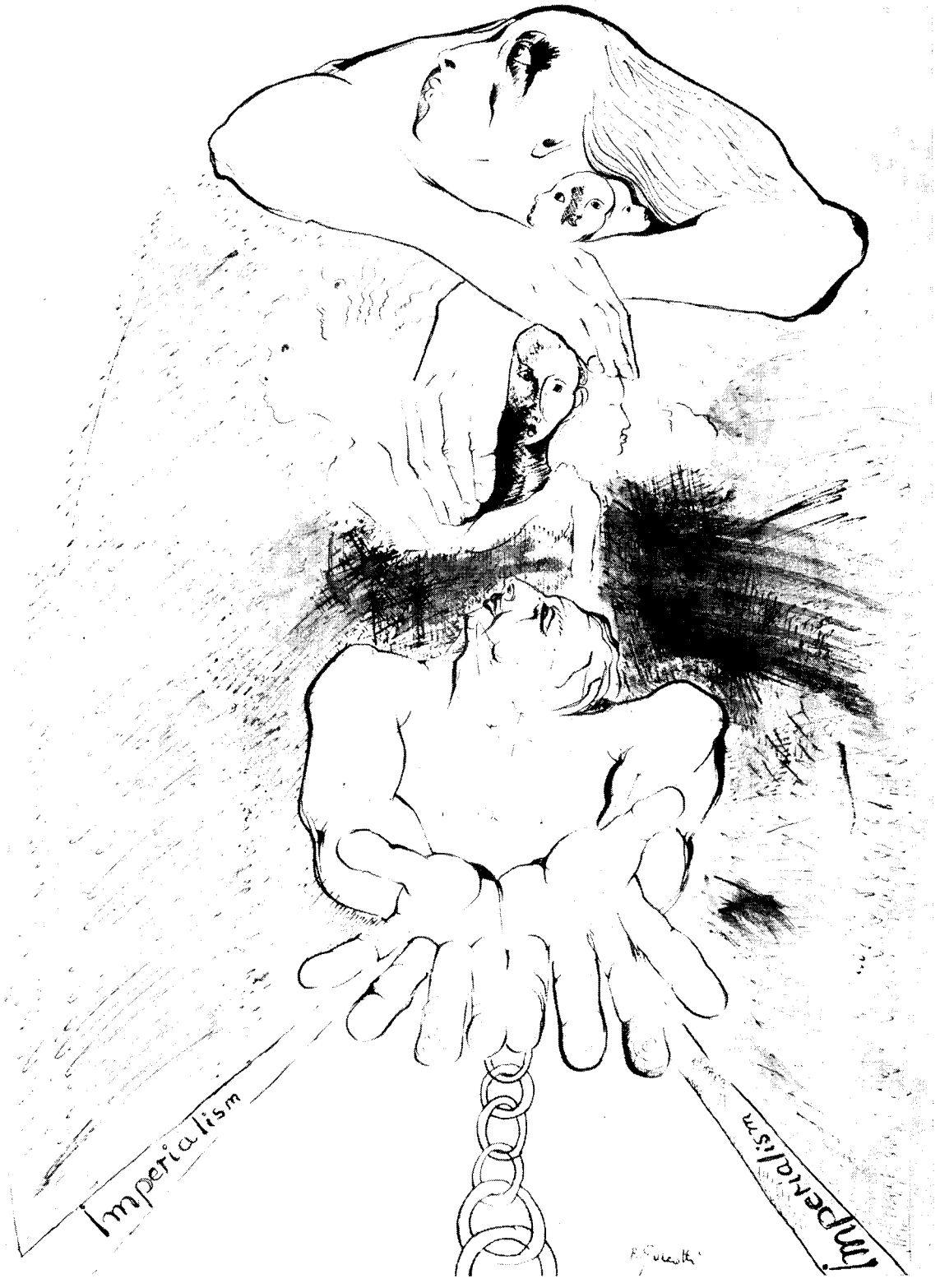

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the terms of transfer of goods and technology for the development of OPEC member countries".

The meeting also expressed its intention of assisting other Third World countries, though speed is urgently needed here as many of them are in extreme difficulties as a result of the oil price increase. There are obvious differences between the countries like Algeria and Iraq who would like to see planned output with allocation of quotas between OPEC states and the Saudi Arabians, among the most obedient of the client states of imperialism, resisting this.

The French Government invited Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Venezuela and Iran to discuss preparations for an international conference to discuss energy problems. This has met but broken down because the US, EEC and Japanese representatives refused to place the general problems of raw materials and development on the draft agenda for the conference.

The OPEC countries are being blamed in the West for producing inflation; what is often forgotten and what their Solemn Declaration reminds us of, is that they too are hit by the inflation of the capitalist countries through the prices they have to pay for imports.

The battle is not yet in sight of being won of course, it has only just been joined. Demand for oil in 1974 declined by 4 per cent and may well go down in 1975 at the same rate, and the capitalist states are stressing this, but they are not monopoly customers now. If the OPEC states carry out their promise, as they must, to the economically underdeveloped countries most seriously affected by the oil price increase, they could give aid both to overcome the price increases and to assist in the import of both foods and necessary equipment for modernisation. The socialist countries are already buying oil from Libya, Iraq, Venezuela and Iran, providing long-term agreements which can give a stable perspective of foreign earnings or barter deals for promoting industrial and agricultural development.

There are, of course, other producer associations like the CIPEC, the copper producers, and the iron ore producers, OIOEC, but the political and historic bonds which bind the Arab states do not link most other groupings, many of whom are in any case much poorer and more susceptible to imperialist pressures. The efforts of the OPEC states are, however, of significance because their demands strike at the heart of the unequal relations which have prevailed for so long between the imperialists and those whom they have up to now exploited so ruthlessly.

The monopolies have waxed fat on the exploitation of Middle East oil and still do. Of the top 12 of the 1,000 largest UK industrial companies listed by *The Times* 1973-74, four were oil companies. British Petroleum and Shell, the top two, Shell-Mex number seven and Esso number 12. British Petroleum had a total turnover in 1972 of £3,431,200,000. Employing capital of £2,293,600,000 it registered a profit before interest and tax of £776,400,000.

Nationalisation Measures

The nationalisation of the oil resources of the Middle Eastern states has gone ahead rapidly in the past few years. Iraq carried through extensive nationalisation in 1972. This year Saudi Arabia nationalised Aramco which controlled 90 per cent of the country's oil output; Kuwait, which controlled 40 per cent of the stake owned by the BP Gulf partnership has now taken over the remaining 60 per cent. Venezuela, also a member of OPEC, has announced a programme for nationalisation to be carried through this year.

Nationalisation, either total or on a shared basis, has been a feature of economic policy of the Third World. Copper accounts for 90 per cent of Zambia's exports. In August 1969 the Government took over 51 per cent of the shares of the copper mining industry which up till then was dominated by two giant firms: Zambia Anglo-American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust. 50 per cent of Government revenue is derived from copper mining. Development plans issued with the nationalisation decisions projected the diversification of agriculture, the establishment of new industries which would save on imports and the development of communications and electric power. These plans are constantly under threat as the demand for copper and the price fluctuate.

In the African states like Tanzania, where emphasis is placed on agricultural, co-operative developments, banks, insurance companies, leading export-import firms, a subsidiary of Bata Shoe, Metal Box Company and a few other firms were nationalised, with the takeover of a major share in the country's main export, sisal. President Nyerere, making the announcement of the takeover in 1967, claimed: "The key positions of the economy have been secured for the nation in the same way as during war an army occupies the sites which dominate the countryside." The annual *per capita* income of Tanzania at that time was £20 and a strategic aim was to raise it to £45 by 1980.

Nationalisation measures need to be linked with extended control over foreign trade so that foreign earnings are available to Governments for investment in the superstructure, social development and for promoting industrial growth. In general, though not happy at nationalisation, the monopolies have managed to live with it because they dominate the market, that is why attempts by the producers to intervene in prices and supply are provoking fierce resistance.

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The United Nations Industrial Development Organisation was set up in 1966 to promote industrialisation in the economically under-developed countries. At this year's Conference in Lima the United States voted against the proposal to set up a permanent agency of the United Nations to promote Third World industrialisation with an aim of reaching 25 per cent of world production by the year 2000. Britain abstained, as did Belgium, Canada, West Germany, Italy and Japan. France, which is trying to develop a role for itself as intermediary between the Third World and the other imperialist powers, voted for it. At present Third World industrial production equals 7 per cent of the present world total, and the proportion has scarcely grown in the past 20 years.

Clearly industrialisation is central to any perspective for economic growth, but the possibilities of achieving it are bound up with the position of agriculture, which is in deep crisis.

The Roots of the Food Crisis

While the majority of their populations work on the land, the Third World countries are, nevertheless, driven to increase their imports of food, using up the foreign earnings which ought to be expended on investment, both in modernising agriculture and in laying down an industrial base. Like the mineral exporters, the exporters of primary products face a world market dominated by the monopolies. Their problem is exacerbated both by unstable prices and by competition from synthetic products. They are not bound together, as the OPEC countries are, by strong cultural and political ties.

The developed capitalist states do not rely on them for food in the same way as they rely on the OPEC states for oil. About two-thirds of the developed capitalist countries' food requirements are met by trade between themselves. (See Table II.)

Natural disasters have precipitated the food crisis into famine proportions in East Africa, parts of West Africa and Bangladesh. Overall, there is a tendency for a slight increase in food production in the Third World, but this is not keeping pace with population growth. In addition to natural factors, the increase in the prices of fertilisers, pesticides, machinery, seeds, imported from capitalist countries, makes it more difficult for the farmers to produce. Between 1971 and 1974 the price of phosphates has increased by 300 per cent, while urea prices have gone up from $46 to $300 per ton.

Since the first half of 1972, there have been rapid increases in food prices on a world scale. In February 1974, the price of US wheat was four times that of the June, 1972 price. Wheat stocks in the main capitalist exporting countries have dropped. Speculation in commodities, rather than the dollar, has also contributed to price increases. Oil price increases have increased the costs of production in both the developed countries and the economically under-developed.

Table II
Production of Food in Capitalist Developed and in Developing Countries
(1961-1965 = 100)

	Gross production					Per capita production				
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973*	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973*
Developed Countries**	116	116	123	122	126	108	108	114	112	114
Western Europe	115	117	122	121	124	109	111	115	113	115
North America	115	113	124	122	126	107	104	113	110	112
Oceania***	123	121	129	127	139	110	107	111	108	116
Developing Countries	119	124	126	125	131	102	103	102	99	101
South and Southeast Asia	118	124	125	120	132	102	104	102	96	103
Middle East	122	124	129	138	131	103	102	103	107	99
Africa	118	120	125	126	122	102	102	103	101	95
Latin America	120	126	127	128	133	102	103	101	100	100

* Preliminary data.
** Including countries in other regions not indicated here.
*** Australia and New Zealand.
Source: **Preliminary Assessment of the World Food Situation. Present and Future,** United Nations, 1974.

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Rudiments of the Solution

Food aid from the United States has dropped sharply, while imports by the Third World countries have increased from $3,000 million in 1970-71 to around $11,000 million in 1973-4. The Food and Agriculture Organisation estimates that the Third World will need to import 80-90 million tons of grain alone, by the mid-eighties costing between $16,000-$18,000 million per annum. The same report declares:

> ". . . it is entirely within man's capacity to solve the food problem both in its shorter and its longer term aspects".

In November 1974 the World Food Conference on 'Strategy for Resolving the World Food Problems', listed the need for fertilisers, pesticides, selected seeds, irrigation, better marketing and credit facilities, and the development of research. These are necessary for a solution to the problems, but access to technique and adequate, honest administration can come only if the political conditions are right. Small scale production, based on primitive methods are obviously inadequate, but even assuming the necessary local capital were available, which, generally it is not for agriculture, large scale capitalist enterprise would be no guarantee of solving the problem either. The increase of production would not, in itself, ensure that it reaches the tables of the poor. Production to meet the food requirements of the population must be planned as a part of the drive to expand the economy and lift the living standards of the mass of people, converting them into an effective source of demand.

In countries dominated by feudal and large scale land ownership, land distribution and co-operative facilities for machines and supplies are needed to provide the basis for planned production and sale. In countries where forms of communal landholding still exist, the development of co-operation is an obvious stage of development with the introduction of new crops and techniques, and help from Government agencies in marketing and investment.

A radical solution to the food crisis of the Third World will not come from charitable activities, but through modernised social relations and the application, within a framework of planned production, of the most advanced techniques practicable.

The proposal that the people from the advanced countries should tighten their belts and consume less, in order to make supplies available for the Third World, seems to assume that there would be massive increases in food aid from the capitalist states . . . a highly dubious proposition and invalidated by actual, present trends, but food aid is not a desirable form of assistance. The provision of supplies of emergency foods in periods of disaster is one thing, but it is not a way of achieving a basic solution. In the longer term, indeed, food aid has tended to retard food production in the recipient country. If consumption declined in the capitalist countries, there is no doubt that the price would decline but so would production; transfer of surpluses to the Third World would not necessarily follow.

The population control advocated by the neo-Malthusians, will affect only tiny groups of people. Their message is not likely to be well received in societies where the peasant relies on his children to work the land, and where security in old age depends on the support by children. Reductions in the rate of population growth will come as social and economic life are modernised, with the growth of industrial and urban life, the elimination of backward, labour-intensive methods of production, with the expansion of education and the development of the rights of women, offering them the opportunities for work in modern industries, agriculture and the professions.

There have been success stories in food production in limited areas. India's 'green revolution' was hailed with enthusiasm, but is now beset with problems. The new military regime in Ghana has launched a 'Feed Yourself Campaign' and there have been significant increases in rice and a bumper maize crop.

These experiences are not isolated, they can be found in other countries, but they are always under threat because of the instability of the rest of the economic system. Ghana, for example, now has a crisis about where to store her maize, which is in danger of being lost. India's farmers cannot afford the high price of the fertilisers they need for their 'miracle rise'. Stable increases in food output will come through planning and all-round economic expansion.

What Political Direction?

This basic guarantee of overcoming hunger, brings in its train the fundamental question of what kind of societies are going to be built in the newly independent states? What political direction can they take?

The foreign policies of the majority of the African and Asian states have been fundamentally anti-imperialist. Based on the principle of non-alignment, a refusal to be involved in imperialist alliances, they have made an important contribution to detente and to the increasing support in the United Nations to the struggle for national independence and against racialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, in the Middle East and Indo-China. The active alliance inside the UN with the Socialist states on these questions has resulted in the increasing diplomatic isolation of the major imperialist states.

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This type of foreign policy reflects the powerful anti-imperialist and national sentiments of broad sections of the peoples of the Third World, so does the diplomatic pressure being exerted for the exercise of sovereign rights over natural resources.

Government pressure on the international monopolies, and programmes of nationalisation, represent important anti-imperialist measures, but they are no guarantee of democratic and socialist advance. For some time after the achievement of independence, economic programmes which assign a significant role in economic development to the state, can serve the needs of different classes simultaneously. All classes need the development of a modern, country-wide superstructure, they all benefit from the expansion of health services and education. The capitalist class, generally very weak, is initially, quite happy to see the state act as an accumulator of capital and investing in these areas, which are too large for them and not profitable.

It is when there are serious attempts to restrict private capital accumulation, that the resistance of the capitalist sections begins to create tension and instability. When the working class is not strong enough to mobilise its own forces and develop alliances with other sections opposed to capitalist policies, then the sights are set for the growth of the bourgeoisie, for capitalist development. The acid test of which direction society is moving in, in conditions where the state plays an important role, is not so much economic policy, but political developments. Which class forces in the conditions of state enterprise and intervention are moving forward to control it? To what degree is genuine democratic development taking place?

As economic development takes place, however limited it might be, there will be a growth of the working class. The fight to develop organisation and socialist consciousness is therefore crucial now and for the future. Essential to the perspective for any working class party is the creation of an active, anti-imperialist alliance with all sections prepared to resist the imperialist exploitation of their country; an alliance fighting for the extension of democracy and independent economic development.

Where the ruling sections are driving for capitalist development and subordinate association with imperialism to serve their own ends, this means the politics of opposition and resistance, often in harsh conditions of illegality.

Role of the Working Class

In those countries where Governments are committed to democratic and independent economic development, however, the independent role of the working class is crucial, but often misunderstood and resisted. Without continuously developing working class influence, progressive Governments are in danger and unstable.

The overthrow of the Government of Dr. Nkrumah in Ghana in 1966 demonstrates this. The Convention Peoples' Party of Ghana was, in fact, not a Party in the sense we understand it, but the independence organisation which had united different anti-colonial sections of the people to win independence. The leadership of the movement was, as one would expect, petty bourgeois, and some sections in important positions, were increasingly interested in their own capitalist development, resisting the growth of democratic and socialist influences and opposing the growth of working class organisation.

The same reluctance to allow working class growth came even from people who genuinely supported the declared aims of the Government for liberation of the economy from imperialism. They were anxious about national unity, but they saw unity as static and unchanging, failing to understand that as the struggle against imperialism and its ally, indigenous capitalism sharpened, the most reliable class in the struggle is the working class. Its interests are in the sharpest possible conflict with capitalism and imperialism, its place in production gives it the power of united action.

If the working class is restrained in development and organisation, then the most dynamic section of the anti-imperialist forces is shackled. The working class in Ghana was prevented by law from forming an independent political party; the Trade Unions, as a wing of the Party, were subordinated to the petty bourgeois leadership of the CPP. When capitalist elements, allied with imperialism, organised a military coup against the Nkrumah Government there was no political force to resist them.

Communist Parties and the National Movements

The relations of Communist Parties in the Third World, with nationalist sections with declared anti-imperialist aims, have often been very complex and difficult. In the Sudan and in Iraq, there was pressure on the Communists to dissolve their parties, as had happened in Egypt. Both parties resisted dissolution and pressed for alliances, or fronts, based on agreed anti-imperialist programmes. After initial persecution and danger, the Iraqi Communist Party has succeeded in establishing such an alliance and are in Government. In the Sudan, the Nimeiry regime rejected a meaningful alliance, and having failed to split the Party, utilised the opportunity of the attempted coup in 1971 to murder, imprison and persecute Communists and shift from its progressive programme to one of collaboration with imperialism.

Where there are no Communist Parties, as in the majority of African states, the problem for Marxists is how to develop socialist consciousness and stable working class organisation, often in illegal conditions and where the working class is small. The

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application of Marxism to the reality of African conditions is in its early stages of development, where no Communist Parties exist.

The Democratic Forces Grow and Develop

Despite the very severe economic and social problems and the complexity of class relations in the Third World, the democratic forces are growing and developing. In Africa, the historic victory of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guiné over fascist oppression, opens up another new phase of advance which will have important effects on Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

The defeat of American imperialism by the Vietnamese peoples, and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, is of almost incalculable importance for the whole world struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the socialist world with its increasing links with the Third World countries at diplomatic and economic levels, creates further favourable possibilities for their economic independence.

Imperialism is as vicious and brutal as it was when Marx described its early stage, 'the rosy dawn of capitalist production', but today it is in deep crisis, facing a shrinking world. It sometimes inflicts defeats on the progressive movement still, as Chile testifies, but the forces of liberation and socialism are insistently and increasingly successfully expanding and challenging its very existence. Every act of solidarity that our movement can help to generate, is a contribution both to that world wide force to defeat imperialist exploitation, racism and oppression in the Third World, and to the defeat of monopoly, the extension of democracy and the building of socialism in Britain.

Review Article:

A Caricature of Marxism

Jon Bloomfield

One of the leading theoretical and political figures of the International Socialism group, Chris Harman, has just written a book entitled 'Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe'.[1] It deals with developments in Eastern Europe since the end of the Second World War, concentrating on the main social and political upheavals. With a fiercely polemical and aggressive prose Harman hammers home his arguments relentlessly and remorselessly from a self-declared Marxist standpoint. It is this that makes the book important: firstly, because most of the previous material written in English on the subject is virulently anti-Marxist; secondly, because the character and development of these socialist countries is a cause of major interest and concern for many socialists and Communists living in capitalist Europe; and thirdly because in the absence of anything else many on the Left may accept the theoretical and political assumptions in Harman's book, which are in fact a caricature of Marxism and its analytical approach.

At the core of the caricature is the assertion that all existing socialist countries—the Soviet Union, those in Eastern Europe, China and the Republic of Korea—are in fact 'state capitalist' countries where ". . . progress is only possible for the majority of the people of those countries through anti-bureaucratic, working class revolution".[2] Each of these countries is characterised as having a ruling class—the bureaucracy—which is driven by the need to 'accumulate' and to expand and hence has to 'exploit' its workers and peasants. The Communist Parties are the political arm of this exploitative bureaucracy.

The Nature of Class

These propositions are based on a new understanding of 'class' which the International Socialism group seeks to cloak as Marxist. Thus we read that, "A social class, for Marx . . . was fundamentally, a group of people whose relations to the means of production forced them to act continually in opposition to other social groups. In this sense the bureaucrats of Russia are a class. They *control* the means of production. . . ."[3] Later on we learn that, "The bureaucracy is characterised, like the private capitalist class in the West, by its *control* over the means of production".[4] Throughout the book there

[1] Pluto Press, £1.80.

[2] Harman p. 11. Curiously Harman excludes N. Vietnam and Cuba from this list, although his group consider both to be 'state capitalist'. Maybe he does not want to alienate his readers early on in the book.

[3] *ibid.*, pp. 18-19, my emphasis.

[4] *ibid*, p. 147, my emphasis.

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are frequent references to the 'control' the bureaucracy exerts and the privileges which it extracts from workers in consequence.[5]

These statements stand in stark contrast to the approach of classical Marxism with its concentration in the determination of class on the question of the relations of property ownership. In his analysis of capitalist development Marx relates how the peasantry and artisans were separated from their means of production—land, animals, tools, etc.—which they had previously possessed. They were left with only one 'means of production', their own capacity to work, which they then had to sell to the capitalist in the market place.

Thus under capitalism ". . . man's labour power becomes a commodity. The wage worker sells his labour power to the *owner* of land, factories and instruments of labour. The worker spends one part of the day covering the cost of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day he works without remuneration, creating for the capitalist surplus value, the source of profit, the source of wealth of the capitalist class".[6] Thus what ensures the creation of surplus value for the capitalist class is its ownership of the means of production and what characterises the working class is its propertylessness, the fact that it has nothing to sell but its labour power.

What gives the capitalist class power over other classes is precisely its possession of means of production which others are denied. It flows from this analysis that questions of 'control' and 'privilege' are secondary and issue from the primary question of property ownership. To talk of 'control' of the means of production as primary is to turn this entire analysis upside down. It replaces a precise, scientific formulation, one which centres on the relations of production which people enter into 'independent of their will', with a woolly, vague phrase that avoids the question of property relations. Indeed it is a formulation much favoured by bourgeois sociologists as it enables them to write about power in society and 'groups' which wield it, while evading discussion of class and property relations. Is it any wonder then that much of bourgeois sociology and IS theory 'converge'?

Property Ownership

The abandonment of the precise analytical tools by which Marxists have attempted to understand the dynamics of class society is a general characteristic of IS theory. Yet on the matter of the socialist countries this abandonment assumes especially grotesque proportions. Nowhere in Harman's book does the issue of property ownership raise its head. If the bureaucracy does form a ruling class in these countries how is its ownership of the means of production expressed? Where are the institutions we know so well—the private banks, the monopoly companies, the Stock Exchange and the City? The answer is they do not exist. The institutions and organisations which signify the presence of private ownership of the means of production cannot be found in the socialist countries.

As Isaac Deutscher has written, ". . . what this so-called new class lacks is property. They own neither the means of production nor land . . . they are not able to turn any part of their income into capital: they cannot save, invest and accumulate wealth in the durable and expansive form of industrial stock or of large financial assets. They cannot bequeath wealth to their descendants; they cannot, that is, perpetuate themselves as a class".[7] Harman can only make his assertions about a new ruling class by ignoring these points and along with them the fundamentals of Marxism. In his analysis, as the concept of 'control' asserts itself over 'ownership', as privileges, income differentials, etc. are equated with class antagonisms, so sociology subordinates science and populism replaces Marxism.

Cold War Belittled

As the author weaves his way through the complex and at times tragic events of the period some of the basic errors flowing from his state capitalist theory emerge. The first and most glaring is Harman's complete failure to understand class struggle at an international level, imperialism's hostility to the socialist world and the determination of the US government at the end of the Second World War to roll-back socialist advance. According to Harman the three major powers divided the world at Teheran and Yalta and "Although there were nasty jostlings at certain key points along this border—Berlin and Korea for instance—neither side made any serious attempt to alter the bases of the division".[8] Such statements betray a breathtaking ignorance of the political, military and ideological scope of the Cold War and the desire of the US to regain Eastern Europe for the 'Free World'. Even a cursory reading of the published documents of US Foreign Relations for the period, or of the writings of leading protagonists such as Kennan and Rostow, will show the

[5] For examples see *ibid.*, pp. 40; 56; 65; 76; 97; 126; 271.

[6] V. I. Lenin—*The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*, p. 22 in *Selected Works*, London 1971, my emphasis.

[7] I. Deutscher—*The Unfinished Revolution: Russia 1917-1967*, p. 55.

[8] Harman, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

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eagerness of the US government to redress the balance of forces internationally.[9]

Yet this failure on Harman's part, this description of the Cold War as merely 'nasty jostlings' is no accident. Rather it stems directly from a theory which fails to recognise the existence of two opposed social systems. By belittling the Cold War and ignoring the problems which the aggressive intentions of the US government posed for the countries of Eastern Europe at the end of the war, Harman's picture of the political options open to them becomes distorted. In consequence he ignores the role of Western agencies in the events in Berlin in 1953 and in Hungary and Poland in 1956 and the possibility of capitalist restoration resulting from these political upheavals.

Harman's Schema

As stated earlier Harman considers that Communist Parties in these countries are the oppressive political arm of the new ruling class, that as such no change can come from within them and that the differences that have occurred are between the bureaucracy and elements of a reforming technocracy. It is clear that at times in this period the aspirations of working people clashed with the practices of the Communist Party. For example, this was recognised by the party in Poland in 1971 after the events of December 1970. However this in no way validates Harman's thesis. This falls firstly because of his failure to show the existence of a ruling class, secondly because he fails to recognise the forces within these parties which led to a condemnation of the excesses of the Stalin era; and thirdly because he ignores the internal forces attempting to extend socialist democracy.

This is most obvious in his interpretation of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Harman minimises the significance of the Party's Action Programme and fails to mention the tremendous degree of working class support for the Party after its publication. The positive attempt made by the Action Programme and the other measures of these months to tackle the political and economic problems of Czechoslovak society—past and present—has to be played down by Harman, as it does not fit into his schema. After all, to recognise the potential for an extension of socialist democracy resulting from Communist Party initiatives would be to deny both Harman's and the orthodox Trotskyist theses of the necessity of a political revolution in these countries. Hence the unbalanced and inaccurate picture presented by Harman of the role of the Party in the 'Prague Spring'.

A Failed Analysis

A less obvious but nonetheless important weakness of the book concerns its understanding of ideology. For, if these countries are 'state capitalist' then it is puzzling as to why they should openly propagate Marxist ideology. Harman does not explicitly grapple with this point, yet implicit to his argument is the view that the use of this Marxist language by the party leadership is pure deceit, an attempt to trick the workers.

The point here is that Harman fails to see any connection between the dominant ideology and the society in which it is dominant. He fails to appreciate that Marxist ideology—whatever distortions it may have suffered—dominates precisely because it is anchored in the social relations of production in these countries, just as in Britain the hegemony of bourgeois ideology is rooted in private property relations.

I should make it clear that here I have merely polemicised against some of the theoretical and strategic assumptions in Harman's book. In attacking these I am not justifying many of the actions which these Communist Parties have taken and which are criticised in this book. They, themselves, in many instances have made far-reaching self-criticisms. Within the limits of a review I have attempted to explain Harman's failure to analyse the dynamic of these socialist countries. In so doing I am not attempting to explain away their difficulties. For it is clear that alongside their achievements—most notably a planned economy; full employment; industrial expansion; removal of rural poverty; and mass education—all the socialist countries have to handle complex political and economic problems. The events in Poland in 1970 are the most recent example of the explosive character these problems can assume.

To all those being drawn into class struggle; to all those heartened by the victories in Indo-China and Portugal; to all those for whom socialism is "the city of the future", a clearer understanding of the achievements and problems of the socialist world is essential if we are to accelerate the pace of the socialist movement here. It is a task to which we must urgently address ourselves.

[9] Not only does Harman appear not to have read this material but gauging from his footnotes he reads no Slav language and has had to base his account on published secondary material available in Western European languages. Hardly the firmest foundation for a sweeping analysis of Eastern Europe.

Subscription Price

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Document:

To the Party and People of Chile

Manifesto of the Communist Party of Chile

(We print below the Manifesto of the Communist Party of Chile adopted at the end of 1974. This English translation is taken from the "Information Bulletin" (Supplement to No. 2, 1975) published by the "World Marxist Review" at Prague. The main headings are theirs, the sub-heads ours.)

Slightly over a year of the dictatorship has proved sufficient to show that Pinochet and his henchmen will not be able to keep power for a long time. The military junta's regime is obviously of a transient nature.

The vast majority of the people are opposed to fascism. The dictatorship is growing weaker each day. Its crimes and brutality are evidence of its increasing isolation, rather than strength.

Foundations are appearing for broad national, anti-fascist unity to end the usurpation of power, assure democratic renovation and carry out anew the social transformations needed for the country's progress.

1. THE FASCIST COUP AND THE WORLD CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

The fascist coup in Chile took place in the framework of the world crisis of capitalism. It proved the growing inability of the multinational and local monopolies to impose their plans on society without violating democratic standards. It showed that the oligarchy and imperialism do not hesitate to establish tyranny for preserving their privileges. It reflected the increasing weakness and historical decline of the capitalist system.

The fascist coup is obviously out of keeping with the present course of history. The trend of development is not determined by events such as those of September 11. Though the fascists were temporarily successful in our country, humanity is inexorably moving left towards the victory of peace, democracy and socialism.

The main trend of development in our epoch is determined by such events as the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal, the collapse of the military dictatorship in Greece and the legal proceedings launched against its leaders; the defeat of the Brazilian dictatorship in the very first elections it permitted to take place; the determined defence of their natural wealth by countries that for centuries were exploited by imperialism; the active mobilisation of the working class and broad popular strata in developed capitalist countries, and the leftward shift of the electorate in bourgeois-democratic countries. All these facts are convincing evidence that despite occasional setbacks the people are determined to fight and are making progress towards national and social liberation.

The world balance of forces has changed substantially in favour of progress. This is felt more and more distinctly in such international organisations as the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, where the imperialists, particularly US imperialism, find themselves in growing isolation.

All this is taking place in a setting of imperialism's most serious economic crisis since the war, while the socialist camp is multiplying its economic and political achievements and demonstrating before the world the advantages of the new, crisis-free and steadily advancing system.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE JUNTA IS GROWING

In our epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, when democratic and revolutionary forces are growing and the peace offensive of the socialist countries is making ever greater headway, finding increasing support among the popular masses of the entire world, the Chilean fascists have under cover of darkness hoisted the flag of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. They make ridiculous claims to world leadership in a historically doomed cause which others abandoned after a succession of failures.

Furthermore, they have dragged out warped geo-political concepts from fascism's ideological garbage bin, and use them as "scientific" guidelines for government decisions, the basis for a blind and arrogant nationalism filled with expan-

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sionist ambitions that are likely to spark conflicts with other countries.

By these ploys they hope to conceal and justify their cruel treatment of the people of Chile, the crimes and torture, the war of the armed forces against their people, the special military tribunals and the foul killing of many patriots, such as General Prats, Alberto Bachelet, Jose Toha, Marcial Cortes Monroy, Benito Tapia, Eugenio Ruiz Tagle, Enrique Paris, Isidoro Carrillo, Alberto Molina, Miguel Enriquez, priest Gerardo Poblete, Ofelia Villarroel, Lumi Videla, following the monstrous slaying of Salvador Allende.

The result is the junta's growing isolation in the world and the systematic failures of its foreign policy.

A movement of solidarity with Chile and her people is under way in all countries, and voices of protest resound against the actions of the Chilean fascists temporarily in power. All international organisations of working people are displaying their solidarity with our people, condemning the fascist crimes, and demanding the release of political prisoners.

This mighty wave of solidarity was reflected in the resolution adopted by the overwhelming majority in the UN General Assembly, demanding that the fascists respect the human rights and freedoms of the Chilean people.

The usurpers try to deceive the nation with claims that its international situation is improving. But their efforts are in vain.

World Hostility to the Junta

The junta's obsequious behaviour towards foreign capital is bringing it into collision with countries of the Andes Pact; the attitude of the junta chiefs, who favour cold war and have raised a howl against the lifting of unlawful sanctions against Cuba, puts them in the minority among the Latin American countries (even the Alessandri government voted against the sanctions). For this reason, and due to their refusal to show at least a modicum of humaneness, there is a breach in Mexico's relations with Chile. One day they announced the forthcoming visit of the President of Argentina, but learned several hours later that it had been cancelled on popular demands. On another occasion they were overjoyed by the news that Colombia had voted in their favour, but soon learned that the Colombian people and parliament compelled the Foreign Ministry to change its position.

That is the junta's situation in Latin America. It is the same, or still worse, in other parts of the world.

In the United States large sections of public opinion denounce fascism and expose the part played by the CIA in the coup. The actions taken by congressmen to block military aid to Chile are evidence of this feeling of solidarity, even guilt.

No government in Europe would agree to be considered a "friend" of the military junta. Even the Franco regime is keeping its distance from the Chilean despots and refuses to support them in the United Nations.

In sum, the fascists are committing a crime against their country by leading it to isolation and conflicts. Today, they are trying to pose as victims of an attack they had themselves provoked. Yet, the displays of solidarity are in no way an attack on our country. They are not directed against Chile or her people, but against the junta. Mankind says: Chile—yes, the junta—no! That is the meaning of solidarity, which the usurpers are trying to distort.

They accuse those who are opposed to them of being unpatriotic. That is the peak of insolence. The fascists are trampling the name and traditions of our country in the mud; the only thing saving Chile's prestige in the eyes of the world is the knowledge that the foul and blind fascist policy is encountering resistance in the country. True patriotism consists in fighting for human rights, for Chile's freedom, for ending the country's subordination to big international and local capital.

3. THE MILITARY JUNTA AND ITS POLICY ARE DAMAGING TO THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRY'S POPULATION

The policy of the fascist junta is contrary to the interests and feelings of the vast majority of Chileans.

Under pressure of public opinion at home and abroad the junta announced the repeal of the state of internal war. This was nothing but a piece of wretched hypocrisy. The juridical manoeuvre which replaced it—the so-called state of siege at the level of internal defence—is exactly the same thing, if only because courts-martial are still operating.

The junta announced the release of political prisoners, but instead their number has grown.

The fascists are in favour of accepting the economic model imposed from outside, which is to turn Chile into a country with a high concentration of monopoly capital, low wages and super-exploitation of the working class, and open to foreign capital. Giving away the national wealth to foreign capital, they foster the illusion of economic development.

The fascists have harnessed Chile to multinational corporations at a time when world im-

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perialism is in the throes of a profound economic crisis, and are making the country suffer from the consequences of this policy.

In somewhat over a year they have pushed the country into a crisis and chaos, and this not only through their inability, but mainly due to the class orientation of their actions.

The situation of the popular masses is causing alarm. The runaway inflation, coupled with a fall in industrial production and with growing unemployment (the unemployed now number three times those before September 1973), make the situation of wage and salary earners intolerable. In 1974 their purchasing capacity dropped by 35 per cent. In view of the steep deterioration of the material situation of wage and salary earners in the first four months of the dictatorship, it can be said that in October 1974 wages and salaries were barely 40 per cent of what they had been in January 1973.

Because of this serious situation sales of goods have decreased sharply, resulting in the impoverishment of the vast majority of small and medium proprietors. The situation of the truck and taxi owners, traders and industrialists, farmers and professionals, that is, those used by the putschists as a tool of their conspiracy, is deteriorating from day to day, and some of them are facing imminent ruin.

The measures announced by the Ministry of Finance will only aggravate the existing problems, because they mean a mechanical continuation of the present bankrupt policy.

Conditions Worsen

Continuation of the present economic orientation will add to the hardships of the people. Promises that the sacrifices of today (by the poor only) will lead to "better times" are nothing but a crude and cynical lie. Actually, once the monopolies are restored to power the people's condition will be still worse.

Here is one example. Such government measures as quarterly allowances in addition to wages do not improve the plight of the popular masses. And not only because these allowances are obviously insufficient, but mainly because they are used by the monopolies as a pretext for still more rapid price increases, which reduce the allowance to nil even before it is paid. Also, they serve as a pretext for rejecting the right to economic demands and negating trade union rights in general. The investigation to be made by decision of the ILO and the visit to Chile of a special commission for this purpose, are, therefore, more than justified.

Among the immediate aims of the junta's policy is to abolish the rights to health protection and education, turning these fields into an object of bargaining and a source of profit, and cutting off access to them for the people.

We declare to the country that in violation of the Constitution the present government is preparing to turn over Chilean copper and oil to foreign capital.

We declare that the tax reform now in preparation will reduce the taxes paid by foreign capitalists and the rich, and will increase the taxes paid by the poor. Even makeshift shacks will be taxable.

We declare that the denationalisation of state enterprises, services and banks in favour of the monopolies is continuing.

We declare that contrary to the Constitution large sums are being paid to US copper companies.

We declare that the government that will replace the dictatorship after its collapse will not recognise these obsequious commitments, will not pay these debts and will return to the people without compensation the enterprises denationalised in the interests of the junta's favourites. Only the return of small and medium enterprises, whose expropriation had never accorded with the Popular Unity Government's programme, will be legally recognised.

4. THE JUNTA'S GROWING ISOLATION DUE TO THE DISILLUSION OF STRATA THAT HAD ORIGINALLY SUPPORTED IT

The disastrous consequences of the fascist junta's economic policy and the negative reaction to the police regime and its crimes, have resulted in the isolation of the usurpers inside the country, as eloquently reflected in their own utterances.

The fascist Leigh who in the evening of September 11 crudely and arrogantly promised to root out the "malignant tumour of Marxism" for all time, has now changed his language. "We sincerely assume," he said addressing himself to industrialists, "that perhaps our country has its last chance. The present government is probably the last one capable of preventing the formation of a Marxist government. It must be said in all frankness that there is emptiness behind the armed forces. It pains me to speak about it.... but tell me, gentlemen, am I not right? What is behind the armed forces in Chile? This ultimate means, the last reserve, was brought into play on September 11. We won, but since then assumed a tremendous responsibility."

Indeed, the junta bears a tremendous historical responsibility it will not be able to evade by any demagogic juggling.

The steep decline of the living standard in

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Chile caused by the junta's policy is generating resistance. True, in many cases the resistance is still muted, but it does encompass an obvious majority of the population. The nightmare of continuously rising prices is weighing heavily on millions of men and women.

In face of these facts, Pinochet declared: "I am deeply alarmed by the economic situation of the low-income brackets . . . It pains me to see a considerable number of our compatriots suffering to a greater extent than others from the hardships of the present period." Several weeks later Leigh, too, expressed similar "feelings": "I have the impression that some people are getting large sums of money, and with the present purchasing capacity of the bulk of the population, including ourselves (how strongly put!) this cannot go on."

These are typically demagogic statements. The junta has usurped all power. If its anxiety were sincere, it could have remedied the situation. But it is subordinate to its masters and acts in the interests of the minority, the oligarchy and imperialists who have placed it in power, in their service. Its main concern is to protect the anti-national interests of the minority.

In accordance with this policy the living conditions of the workers, peasants, employees and other wage earners are being brought down. Damage is being caused to the middle strata with the exception of persons favoured by the regime. The present rulers are seeking to ruin the non-monopoly proprietors. All these sections are moving away from the junta, though originally many of them accepted it with satisfaction and hope.

The junta is being openly abandoned by those working people who had been fraudulently involved in the anti-democratic manoeuvres that cleared the way for a coup. This refers to the copper workers who are demanding collective agreements and the wages they had in 1973 (that is, under the Popular Unity Government) till the ill-fated strike organised on CIA money. Both demands are undoubtedly just and important for the entire labour movement.

The junta's growing isolation is also clearly seen in the political sphere.

Opposition Spreads

Developments in the Christian Democratic Party are most indicative of this process. During 1974 this party went over from the open support of the armed coup to the open condemnation of the fascist government and recognition of the transient nature of its power.

The Christian Democratic Party has been systematically discriminated against by the fascist government. Totalitarian concepts do not recognise any democratic organisation even if the bourgeois interests predominate in it. Outright negation of democracy in any form accords with the nature of fascism, a political expression of monopoly-capital which demands subordination of the entire society to the interests of the minority.

In the beginning, the Christian Democratic Party was subjected to verbal pressure, then some of its members were put in prison, such, say, as deputy Huepe and dozens of leaders at district and provincial level. In addition, steps are being taken to prohibit the most prominent leaders of that party to stay in the country. Bernardo Leighton, for example, was refused permission to return, while Renan Fuentealba was arbitrarily expelled. At the same time attempts are made to bribe some activists, mainly from among Frei's followers, and prevail on them to co-operate with the junta. One and the same purpose is pursued in both cases, namely to liquidate the CDP, since most of its members are of a democratic frame of mind.

The same process is under way in other bourgeois political quarters. Take the Left Radical Party, one of whose prominent leaders, Eugenio Valesco, is being prosecuted by the fascist judiciary.

Thus, despite the complete absence of press freedom and the difficult situation created by the repressions, opposition sentiments against the junta have spread to the vast majority of the Chilean people. This entire majority suffers from the policy of repressions, albeit to different degrees: they affect all democrats, but are the most cruel towards revolutionaries.

5. THE SHARPENING OF CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE JUNTA AND ITS MASTERS

Due to its growing isolation, the junta, and its masters to a still greater degree, are trying to organise a so-called civilian-military movement, designed to buttress the junta's deteriorating positions and help it to survive.

For a number of months *El Mercurio* has been warning about the instability of the military regime. According to this newspaper, "the country was occupied by its own armed forces" and "all this points to the need for a clear demarcation between the roles of the armed forces and of the government created and supported by the former". The aim of the monopolies is to take a more direct share of power. . . .

These feelings are growing, because the police regime remains the same while the crisis and chaos are increasing.

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6. CONDITIONS ARE AT HAND TO LAUNCH A BROAD MOVEMENT OF ANTI-FASCIST UNITY

Despite their growing isolation, the usurpers are clinging to power and rejecting all chances of change. They are trying to convince the people that there is no alternative to this odious situation.

The Communist Party declares its conviction that the present situation will change, that the country is not doomed to the disaster into which fascism is leading it, that there is an alternative which can and must be put into practice and as quickly as possible. This alternative is patriotic anti-fascist unity that can bring together the quickly growing majority of the nation and put an end to the dictatorship.

As pointed out in the Appeal of the Political Committee of Popular Unity on May 1, 1974, "Chile faces a tremendous challenge to which there can only be one answer: creation of a broad anti-fascist front embracing all men, women and young people of our country, capable of overthrowing the dictatorship, renewing democracy, and re-embarking on revolutionary reconstruction with the support of the majority of the people." This front is open to all patriots. Only members of the oligarchy, fascists and collaborationists have no place in it.

Such unity is being built on the basis of what has already been created by the people. The existing situation confirms the viability of the Socialist-Communist unity, which is highly important for the unity of the working class and which has grown in the course of the long struggle on the basis of joint action. It also presupposes the strengthening of Popular Unity as an expression of the aspirations to unity displayed by the more conscious sections of the people. At the same time it obliges us to move forward to joint action and unity with those sections of the people who did not support the Popular Government but are now suffering from the abuses of the dictatorship. These people, organisations and parties should participate in the Anti-fascist Front with equal rights and equal obligations.

Communists and Christian Democrats

The Communist Party calls on the Christian Democrats to examine these propositions.

To be sure, there is much that divided and continues to divide the Marxists and the Christian-Democrats, but we also have common interests, and the history of our country shows clearly that whenever we acted jointly in matters of main importance, the country and people benefited from it.

In the days when neither force had yet held power, joint action made it possible to win the repeal of the "infernal law" and assure the democratisation of the electoral law (1958).

During the period of CDP government, the Communists and other popular forces supported those measures which benefited the people, such as the agrarian reform, which had unquestionably been the major achievement of that government.

United action by Christians and Marxists had been decisive in frustrating putschist designs at the time of that government. The whole country remembers the firm and principled stand of the working class and its party during the mutiny of the Tacna regiment, and how they rose as one to frustrate the attempt headed by the fascist Viaux to abolish the democratic system by means of a coup d'etat.

In the three years of the Popular Government joint action brought about the confrontation of the people's victory in the elections at the plenary meeting of the Congress. This helped to prevent a putsch, which had begun with the kidnapping and killing of General Schneider under the direction of the same Viaux. The CDP support for copper nationalisation was also an expression of united action.

That is one side of the medal. The reverse is the fact that the CDP is not homogeneous in class composition and that conflicting interests often clash in its ranks. For this reason, every time that sectarian elements linked with the monopolies and drawing on invaluable support in the form of manifestations of sectarianism among the left wing forces gained the upper hand in the CDP leadership, there came a split or even a confrontation which the reactionaries exploited.

This was the case, above all, in the last two years of the Popular Government's existence. The consequences proved very sad. The CDP example tragically confirmed the aptness of Rodomiro Tomich's statement that "when a gain is secured with the help of the right it is the right that turns out to have gained." The CDP's ill-advised participation, through the fault of its leaders, in the opposition to the Popular Government organised by the oligarchy and imperialism led to the fascist coup from whose effects the people as a whole, including both Marxists and Christians, have suffered ever since.

The hostile sentiments of the oligarchy and imperialism, which were intent on retaining their privileges opposed and abolished or curtailed by the Popular Government, spread to the people and resulted in weakening and dividing them. This was what made the success of the fascist conspiracy possible. These hostile sentiments among the people must be removed.

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It is the duty of every patriot to help in achieving anti-fascist unity. To refuse to do so means making for the further deterioration of our people's living and working conditions while a handful of monopolists in whose interests the people are ruled by means of martial law, complete with curfews, concentration camps and military courts, extends its privileges.

No one may, if he is committed to the interests of Chile and its people, show sectarianism or readiness to compromise, not even with good intentions. The collaborationists are already aware of the loathing and contempt of the majority of the nation.

Unity is an imperative demand today. Its achievement will be a first victory over those who foment hostility and division now or have done so in the past.

It is our conviction that a position in keeping with the interests of the vast majority of CDP members and sympathisers, with interests counterposing that party to fascism, is asserting itself in the CDP and is bound to prevail.

Anti-Fascist Front

Chile's Communists have stressed that they visualise the Anti-fascist Front as a movement which can give the country a government of all the forces constituting the Front. "The ultimate goal of the Anti-fascist Front sought by the popular force is to overthrow the dictatorship, remove the totalitarian police state established by it and set up a new legal, democratic, anti-fascist, national, popular, pluralist state capable of assuring democratic renovation and the complete elimination of fascism, effecting revolutionary changes and achieving national independence." Its definitive character will be determined according to the common opinion of all participants in the front and, naturally, to our people's finest traditions and democratic gains.

It is not the opinions and existence of political organisations alone that the Anti-fascist Front should take into account. Even now the democratic struggle to end arbitrary dictatorial rule encompasses numerous social strata and there can be no doubt that subsequently it will assume a greater scale.

The dictatorial regime's crimes met with resolute resistance on the part of religious quarters, first of all in the Catholic Church, whose deep-rooted links with Chilean society expressed themselves in emphatic condemnation of the violations of human and social rights. This attitude evoked an appreciable response both at home and abroad. The Chilean people see that with a few contemptible exceptions, the Church refuses to identify itself with the people's oppressors.

By virtue of both its principles and its political and social composition, the Anti-fascist Front will pursue an open and benevolent policy towards the Church, for we are convinced that the Church can make an important contribution to Chile's advance along a popular and democratic path.

As regards the mass organisations of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and middle strata and the national and democratic-minded groups of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, as well as the confederations, federations, trade unions, tenants' committees, mothers' centres, professional associations, associations of shopkeepers and manufacturers, cultural, sports and other organisations, now being tyrannised by the fascist regime, which expects them to choose between submitting to its *diktat* and losing their right to existence, they will all exercise their legitimate rights without let or hindrance under a renovated democratic system. The thoroughly democratic character and objectives of the Anti-fascist Front offer them the only sure opportunity to achieve their goal. On this issue, as on all others, our position is the antithesis of the fascists' policy, for we champion democracy against despotism and favour participation of the masses in government against *diktat* from above. Only a government protecting the interests of the majority encourages active participation by mass organisations in public life and in government decision-making. And it is only the Anti-fascist Front that will be able to give the country such a government.

The Armed Forces

As for the armed forces, carabineros and investigation service, our opinion is stated in a letter circulated among hundreds of members of all the fighting arms.

We only wish to repeat that among the men in uniform we distinguish between fascists and non-fascists, between torturers and those who refuse to stoop to criminal practices, between bona fide men and traitors, between coup leaders and those who were misled. Slightly more than a year since a group of high-ranking army officers committed betrayal, there is evidence in the army of reluctance to continue in the role of a protector of the rich and a jailer of the poor, in the role of executioners of one's own people. It is not accidental that trials by court martial take place so often, that so many men are discharged from the army. These facts show that fascism is unable to stamp out genuinely patriotic sentiments among thousands of servicemen, especially since the junta perpetrated its atrocious crime against General Prats and his wife. It is men like Prats and Schneider, killed by fascism, that show us a

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different way.

We think there must be a mounting determination in the armed forces to oppose fascist leaders who want servicemen to stain their hands with the blood of men and women on their orders.

There is room in the Anti-fascist Front for every patriotic member of the armed forces. We are certain that they will take steps on their own to call a halt to crimes and tortures and then immediately to try and punish those who must be called to account for their crimes against the people.

It follows that the fascist junta can be confronted with a democratic, popular, revolutionary alternative. If the popular movement shows sufficient courage and flexibility the fascists' isolation will grow and the day of their defeat will draw near.

Bourgeois Efforts for an "Alternative"

However, the people must realise that reaction and imperialism are working on alternative solutions that would enable them to replace the junta regime by another without giving up their privileges. The reactionaries are working on these lines with the primary aim of isolating the Communist Party and of weakening and destroying the popular movement. This is evident in MIR's exposure of the offers made by the Air Force intelligence service with a view to isolating the Communist Party in exchange for certain concessions. Manoeuvres of this nature will recur.

As the opposition to the junta on the part of the majority of the population grows, attempts to prevent the achievement of broad unity as a force capable of leading the country forward will be stepped up. The effort to find a bourgeois alternative to the present situation will be continued.

Such an alternative would leave all the main objectives of our struggle unachieved. It would merely mean falling back on the reactionary regimes of the past, with all the consequence known to the people, at the ever-present risk of a fascist comeback.

Thus the struggle for anti-fascist unity is also a struggle against every reactionary way out of the situation, every compromise and every attempt to deny the working class and other politically conscious sections of the people the important role which they are to play in Chile's future. It is only the broadest possible unity that can avert this alternative, whose realisation depends in the final analysis on a split among the people benefiting their enemies.

Hence the only genuinely patriotic, popular alternative is to bring into being a considerably broader coalition than Popular Unity, one comprising all political, mass, religious and military organisations and leaders declaring for an end to the dictatorship. This is a key objective which every patriot should help to attain.

7. WORK AMONG THE MASSES AS DECISIVE AS EVER

Work among the masses is a vitally important, decisive condition for the success of the effort to achieve anti-fascist unity. No amount of tactical effort can replace this work, which is an earnest of victory. No way out of the present situation, whatever its form, can be put into effect without action by the masses themselves. Victory depends on their co-operation.

The Anti-fascist Front will be set up chiefly at grass roots, in popular organisations, wherever the people live, work, study or divert themselves. That is where revolutionaries must operate if they are to unite the majority and help it to satisfy its aspirations, which depends in the last resort on the nature of the government in power.

A primary duty of every anti-fascist is to belong to a mass organisation. The fascist regime tries to block every manifestation of independence on the part of the people's mass organisations. It forbids all democratic activity in an effort to turn the country into a barracks. The junta has outlawed the United Trade Union Centre (CUT), an organisation based on democratic principles, and replaced it by a Labour Bureau under appointed "leaders". It has banned all student federations and substituted for them the so-called Youth Secretariat, likewise "led" by appointees. The junta prevents democratic election of the leadership of trade unions, tenants' committees, mothers' centres and other mass organisations. It ignores the opinion of any organisation unless it is an organisation of its masters speaking for the oligarchy. This is why we anti-fascists must strive, first of all, to preserve and expand the numerous organisations formed by the people in the course of long struggles for their interests. To withdraw from them because of the difficulties created by the dictatorship would mean surrendering to fascism, playing into its hands and allowing these organisations to be headed by despicable collaborationists, the people to be robbed of their weapon, organisation, and the country to be arbitrarily ruled by a minority.

It is clear that the majority of the people refuse to be reconciled to the situation created by junta policies and consider that an end must be put to it. But it is just as clear that many have only a vague notion of the way out. Only if forward-looking patriots join mass organisations will it become possible to guide, organise and unite the masses with a view to mustering sufficient strength

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to work for victory while avoiding reckless moves and to defeat the dictatorship.

To be sure, it is now harder to work actively among the masses than in the past because there is a dictatorial regime. Terror has taken the place of democratic order. Under the Popular Government, the masses took an active part in public life. By now all activity of this nature has died down under fascist pressure. But the usurpers cannot stop legal activity of revolutionaries and democrats in popular organisations nor stop their struggle for the solution of problems agitating the people even though the methods of this struggle will have to be changed. Practice has shown that in many cases various sections of the people can be mobilised for action in support of specific demands, which is often small in scale but helps to expose the junta's demagogical manoeuvres, restore the people's confidence in their strength, achieve closer unity of the people, eliminate the hostile sentiments sown by the class enemy and prepare in the end for action on a larger scale.

Conditions for reactivating the masses are daily becoming more favourable. The authorities' outrages and abuses are multiplying. The condition of the masses is steadily worsening. All this makes it our duty continuously to step up our defence of their interests, and we Communists propose to do much more in this respect, in common with our allies and all anti-fascists.

From Simple to Complex Things

We must learn to advance from simple to complex things, from numerous isolated actions over problems of the day to the elaboration of specific programmes making it possible to merge these numerous actions into one powerful stream and score more considerable gains in this way.

The working class shows how to do it. The important thing today is to re-establish trade union rights, first of all the right to put forward demands and to strike. Many unions have won pay increases beyond the limits set by the junta. National federations demand restoration of the right to collective bargaining and a return to the wage levels of January 1973. This demand was put by the Confederation of Copper Industry Workers. Besides, several federations insist on their right to participate in the drafting of the proposed reforms of the labour code, social maintenance and the social status of factories, resisting thereby the fascist junta's attempts to deal with these matters without those whom they concern. All these demands are legitimate. If they are not met many of the misled will see for themselves what the junta stands for, whom it represents and how very false its declarations are. If, however, the workers' demands are met their organisations will become stronger and their rights will be re-established, which will help the working class to become a centre of unity and a motive power of revolutionary change.

The regime's brutal repressive measures anger millions of Chileans. Solidarity with the persecuted, with those who are killed, tortured or jailed, as well as with their kin, is increasingly becoming a cause of the masses. Everywhere our people's lofty, humane sentiments prompt them to take action in new forms. This is creating a very broad basis for united action by the masses. We must strive to extend the scope of this effort, for it helps to establish close bonds between the various sections of the people and to do away with the hatred fomented by fascism.

Many more examples of this nature could be cited.

Another essential aspect of work among the masses is the underground activity of anti-fascist organisations and the people themselves. Legal and illegal working methods make up a single whole and must complement each other. At present it is only in illegal conditions that the people can preserve the structure of their political organisations, which the junta would like to destroy so as to perpetuate the domination of monopoly capital. Only an underground organisation can lay bare the nature of the junta, the regime's crimes and anti-national activities, combat its obscurantist ideology and retain in the most difficult conditions the ability to guide, and unite numerous actions by the masses. The more closely underground work is linked with the struggle of the masses, the greater its effect will be, especially if it is carried on with the participation of the masses and becomes their cause.

Here is an example. In an attempt to end all democratic activity, the fascist regime encourages denunciation on all levels. The underground organisation must see to the exposure of informers in factories, residential neighbourhoods and educational institutions, make their names known and bring the masses into this campaign to pillory these people, expel them from public life and make them feel the people's contempt.

Against Adventurism

All this means that the popular movement must reject the methods of terror, action by small groups, adventurist practices, for to use these methods would mean playing into the hands of fascism. More than a year's rule by the oppressors has shown that the dictators would like nothing better than to prompt the popular movement to use these methods, for this would provide them with an excuse for their crimes. Indeed,

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when the democratic movement showed maturity and offered them no pretext they organised provocations like the raid on the Chilean Bank, which was used for killing Miguel Henriquez and for diverting attention from the treacherous assassination of General Prats and his wife.

We must prevent the rise and spread of a mood of passive expectation of a nonexistent solution which will allegedly come from somewhere outside the mass movement. The junta spreads rumours about the formation of a "government in exile", claiming that armed groups are training abroad with the aim of overthrowing its rule. The main purpose of this falsehood is to discredit the powerful international solidarity movement by representing it as "interference" and, above all, to induce the masses to remain inactive and passively submit to exploitation and abuses as they await the "great day" or "big action" that will allegedly change the situation.

There is no doubt that the great day of the people's triumph will come, but it will come only if a mass struggle by millions of Chileans develops inside the country, if protest actions everywhere become organised and if all patriots unite in the Anti-fascist Front.

8. A STRONG MASS COMMUNIST PARTY

To fulfil the tasks arising from the situation, we need a strong and militant mass Communist Party.

The first Communist organisations sprang up in the pampa at a time when the working people were pariahs lacking rights and were un-organised. It was a very hard time and there was an enormous amount of work to be done. Nevertheless, the Party forged by Recabarren struck deep roots among the working class and the people and became a key factor in the country's social development.

The Party's patriotic, deeply national character has been confirmed by its entire history, as well as by the fact that all attempts to eliminate the Party have failed and their initiators have broken their teeth and died politically in a short time.

However, the Communist Party and its youth organisation cannot be destroyed, for they meet the innermost, vital interests of the working class and the people. . . .

Though forced underground, we have not renounced the mass character of our Party and never will. Our underground work does not rest on its strictly clandestine nature, nor do we command vast funds. It is and will be carried on with the help of thousands upon thousands of families who threw the doors of their homes open to the persecuted as soon as mass repression began and who help our underground organisation. We owe illegal work on this mass scale to the fact that the people's love for the working-class party is stronger than the hatred of our enemies. Our activity neither depends nor can depend on the existence of one or two key leading centres. It fuses with the effort of the people themselves, and fascist repression proves powerless against it.

Underground work on a mass scale is made possible also by the Communists' firmness of conviction. Since the dictatorship was imposed, we have been struck very strong blows, thousands of members of the Party and its youth organisation and prominent leaders, including Comrade Luis Corvalan, our General Secretary, have been arrested. Many of them were shot or tortured to death but not one of them could be made to supply any evidence endangering any organisation or leader operating underground. This exemplary conduct of every Communist is our Party's pride and an earnest of victory.

It is for this reason that the dictatorship cannot destroy our Party. The regime will yet be able to strike us telling blows but the Party will be joined by more and more leaders coming from an inexhaustible source, the working class and the people. . . .

We Communists are full of optimism, which we derive from our confidence in victory. Together with our allies we will be a dependable vanguard in the struggle against the dictatorship, in the search and preparations for a solution meeting the interests of the people and the revolution. We are certain that the Chilean people will form the broadest coalition in their history to end the dark night of fascist rule.

Leadership of the Communist Party of Chile
Santiago

Communist University of London—No. 7

Over 600 students attended last year's Communist University. On the basis of this growing support CUL 7 will have a number of new courses.

The medical students have produced a course studying aspects of health care, very topical at the present time. There will be a course on Soviet Studies and a new course on Political Theory.

Another innovation will be an experimental day of inter-disciplinary subjects, where specialists can pool their resources.

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Discussion Contributions on:

The Communist Party and Developments in British Culture

John Chambers

Jeremy Hawthorn's admirably constructive and concise introductory article on the present position regarding the Communist Party and recent developments in British culture (*Marxism Today*, December 1973) raised many interesting and stimulating points. I felt especially valid was his call for broader democratic involvement in both the evolving structure of cultural organisations and the fabric—i.e. the content—of those activities.

It seems to me that we must first resolve questions of the historical role of culture within the wider framework of Marxist theory and practice and then relate that role to present-day communist strategy on the political and social fronts—those strategic offensives and counter-offensives dictated by the day to day events arising from the cultural and economic crisis of modern capitalism—a crisis which is not only created by the innate contradictory nature of capitalism, but also by its present-day panic and loss of self-confidence, as it is continuously harried and forced to regroup in order to meet the growing development and challenge of the new socialist societies.

Even having resolved those primary questions, however, we are still left with the need to further examine just which of these activities come within classical definitions of culture—to say nothing of whether such "cultural" categories are still satisfactory and still accommodate all such socio-cultural phenomena we may wish to include. Next, to what extent are these categories within the social superstructure a direct or indirect reflection of the economic base? Finally—and crucially—to what extent is this complex and often ephemeral area of activity and study either valid in the context of—in part or whole—or relevant to our wider responsibilities as communists and as such ultimately applicable to the cause of socialist advance in the class struggle?

Open Ended

Most would support the Cultural Committee's contention that today there exists an especially significant period of cultural development and that these recent developments call for a close Marxist analysis in order to relate to the wider political, industrial and social activity of the Communist Party. Past precedent however suggests that not only does such a review need to be closely observant of the reality of cultural phenomena, but also, to avoid past errors of judgment and to avoid hindering possible advance through too close attention to unproductive dogma etc., then any resulting programme—theoretical, or practical—will by necessity need to contain to a certain degree open ended, flexible elements in order to ensure that progressive tendencies—as they arise—can be encouraged to link up with, and to identify with, the political—and associated—role of the Communist Party.

Again, while firmly resisting undue criticism of past positions, such situations stress the additional need for continual and open review in order to guard against premature rejection of what may later be seen to be positive qualities in areas of cultural activity as yet unrecognised and developed to their true potential. However this is secondary at this stage to our main concern—conjecture may be interesting but largely irrelevant—which is the analysis and observation of the reality of today and our relationship with real situations.

Three Situations

Perhaps at this stage I can usefully introduce three, seemingly diverse, situations I have experienced recently which—for me at least—together demonstrate (agreed on a minute scale) the complexity of the overall task of analysis and yet the prime need for Marxists to come to grips with problems of culture and the necessity for communists to initiate a programme of positive action across the theoretical and practical front and to relate such a programme of socio-cultural activities more closely to our political and trade union commitments.

I cannot pretend that my three events are uniquely significant—every comrade will instantly recall many such similar incidents perhaps more compelling—but I put them forward as repre-

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sentations of those daily reminders we all receive of the inadequacy of capitalism to contribute to an enriched and developing life for the vast majority of the British people.

First. It is a cold night. An audience of some 50 or so adults and children occupy only about a third of the school hall, sitting in straight-backed chairs, wrapped in our coats for warmth. The stage is bare of props, the wing flats and backcloth plain and black. We are waiting for a small travelling theatre group to perform their pantomime *Jack and the Beanstalk.*

Suddenly "Uncle Bertie"—"Eee, straight from Scarborough!" leaps into the solitary spotlight, the smallest possible band—a booming bassdrum and a wobbly cornet—oompahs forward from the back of the hall and we are away. Jack's mum is a cart-wheeling knockabout straight from Monty Python's Circus, and Jack is an autistic mute with a clown's painted face who is soon speeding through a psychedelic-rock space to the plant of nasty, threeheaded King Bullo.

The whole thing is impossible, there seem to be too many odds stacked against the young cast, but somehow their enthusiastic skill communicates to the audience and there is a tremendous rapport so that by the time Jack silently and acrobatically wrestles with the Great White (ultra violet) Worm we are totally involved, jumping up and down in our seats, cheering Jack on.

Second. The back room of a local pub. A poster on the wall—"In memory of Salvador Allende and the People of Chile." A communist Trades Council delegate is reading out a lengthy document explaining the long history of social and economic oppression in Chile and how the junta crushed the democratic people's government when they started the long haul to socialist freedom. Trade unionists, students, housewives, and left activists sit in a large circle listening intently to the speaker.

When he has finished another speaker reads extracts from the poems of Neruda and finishes with a moving account of the death and funeral of the great poet under the iron heel of the junta. Someone talks briefly about the Spanish Civil War and the never-changing face of fascism. Another comrade reads out his own poem on the tragedy of Chile. As soon as he has finished another member of the audience asks if he can read one of his own poems in tribute. And then another from the audience stands . . . and another. It is very quiet, only the voices of the readers, but the atmosphere is charged with emotion and resolve.

Third. I am a member of the staff of an art school. We are having a special staff meeting to be told of the stringent cut-backs in our budget and future restrictions in staffing and student intake. While we are waiting to begin one adult education member shows us a few small coloured prints brought in by one of his elderly evening class students. He explains that they were done by the old lady's merchant sailor nephew—"to while away the time on sea voyages". She discovered them by accident and said he was too shy to ever show them to anyone, never mind think about taking art lessons.

They have been made by laboriously engraving and cutting into the surfaces of plywood off-cuts and on vinyl floor tiles, and then hand printed by rubbing the back of the print paper with a spoon. They are naïve, untutored and quite superb. "Vinyl tiles! Christ, the hours of painstaking work! And how beautiful!" the evening tutor exclaims in genuine surprise and admiration. It is impossible not to agree. Such talent buried away in isolation.

Vast Creative Potential

I am sure that all of us are continually faced with such incidents; small everyday events in themselves perhaps and too easily dismissed or forgotten as such. But in reality a continuous reminder to us of the crippling indifference of capitalism, offering sudden insights into the vast creative potential within the so-called culturally inarticulate working class, and underlining that cultural experience and creative activity—buried deep, neglected and almost crushed though it often is—is an integral and necessary part of our instinctive concept of the total potential human social condition.

We must repudiate the cynical claim of capitalist concepts of culture that it is adequate compensation for the human spirit to be swamped in the alienating, affluent, media-dominated alternative culture of the global electronic village. Such dubious compensation in reality means a perpetuation of the values of the entrenched ruling class, and we remain deprived, cut off from our true potential, prisoners of the cultural ideology of modern industrial capitalism.

Conformity or Tolerated Isolation?

We are all familiar with the élitist concept of culture as an attractive private world where the cultural activist, alienated from any sense of identification with a purposive social role, can happily or—masochistically—unhappily play out the inevitably sterile fantasies of the neglected, tormented creator of genius. To counter this essentially negative pre-occupation with the ego-trip we must not only be demonstrably able to

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analyse and disect the confused jungle of today's "cultural activities" but also to confront that—again—inevitably barren system with a theoretically sound and structured socialist alternative that aims to successfully liberate and enrich all and not the select few.

Post-war cultural developments in many ways reflect the growing concern of cultural activists to break away from the inhibiting stranglehold of the old class dominated cultural forms. There is evidence of a widespread, though perhaps unconscious, desire to allow fuller expression to the innate creative wish and ability within us all, and yet there is equal evidence that such developments have been put under tremendous pressure to come to terms with an economically dominant social and political system that cannot by its very nature permit such freedom of expression. Cultural expression then either conforms into socially accepted—i.e. politically innocuous—forms of expression or forces the aware cultural activist into a tolerated—anarchic—isolation, safe in the knowledge that such personally orientated activities are ultimately harmless to the status quo.

A Total Vision

Whether we are dealing with concepts of aesthetics in so-called areas of high culture or examining the energy and dynamism associated with the post-war surge in related areas such as television and film, graphics and posters, pop and the underground scene, the football entertainment industry, fashion clothes and footwear etc., then we need have no fear that our general political analysis of the social, industrial and economic malaise at the heart of capitalist society is not applicable to the apparently difficult areas of culture.

The communist vision is a total vision.

A Cry for Clarity

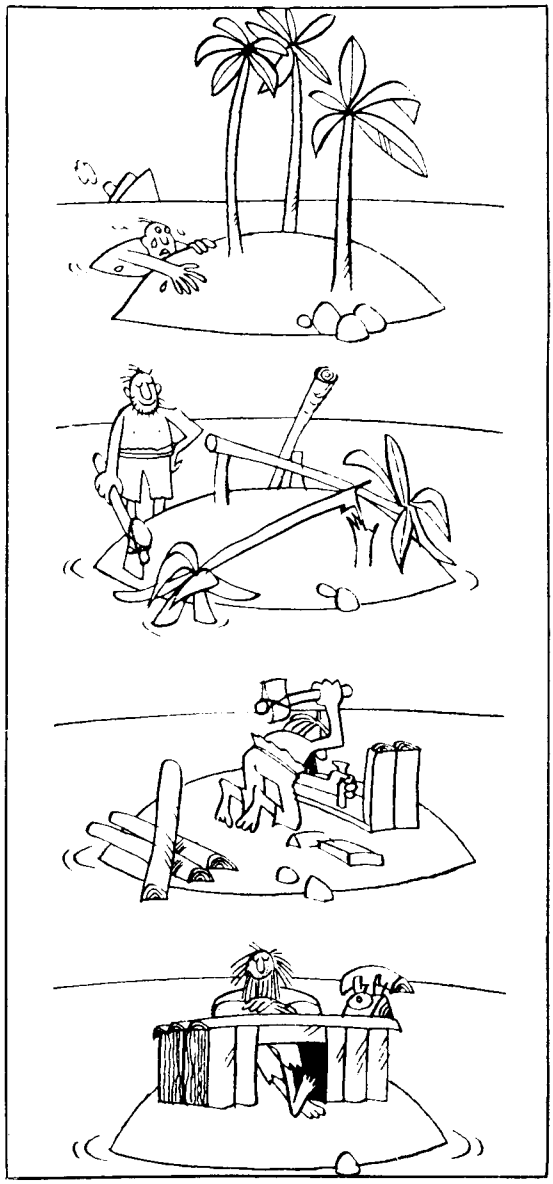
Norman Lucas

Why is it that the articles must use such complicated sentences, and long, obscure words. As a YCLer I think I can say that, the majority of us can't understand much of what is written in *Marxism Today*. The subjects which it treats are very interesting, and I'm sure that a certain amount of the complicated formulations are unavoidable, but I'm equally sure that half are quite simple concepts put in an academically complicated and unnecessary way.

Surely we should be looking for ways of bridging the language gap between the academic world and that of ordinary working people.

The article by Peter Latham on Sociology was what prompted me to write to you, although I have been meaning to for some months.

Would it not be possible to have a series of footnotes explaining the more obscure concepts and words, especially when the writer makes reference to another person's ideas in a contrasting sort of way?



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